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JOANNA THE FIRST

Queen of Naples

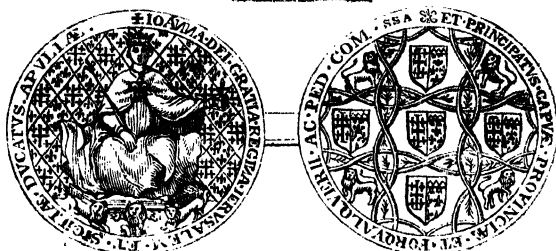
HISTORICAL LIFE
OF
JOANNA OF SICILY,
QUEEN OF NAPLES
AND
COUNTESS OF PROvence;
WITH
CORRELATIVE DETAILS OF
THE LITERATURE AND MANNERS
ITALY AND PROvence
IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES.

"Les infortunes et la mort de cette Reine entre dans tous les événemens de ce temps là,
surtout dans le grand schisme d'Occident que nous aurons bientôt sous les yeux."

VOLTAIRE—*Essai sur les Mœurs et L'Esprit des Nations.*

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.



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INTRODUCTION

MODERN history records but few lives which present such interesting vicissitudes of fortune, such strongly marked alternations of splendor and misery, as that of Joanna of Sicily, Queen of that fairest portion of Italy, emphatically described as “a fragment of heaven fallen on the earth,” and Countess of Provence, the native land of “the gay Troubadour,” the earliest of the modern poets of southern Europe.

Some of the most enlightened, and most worthy of the contemporaries of this princess, and many of the succeeding writers of France and Italy, have described her as possessing every mental perfection and every external charm.¹

¹ Longanimis est et constans, ut sacrum propositum ejus non leviter flectas in vacuum, quod satis monstravere jam dudum in ea fortune sevientis insultus quibus, persæpe acri concussa motu et agitata est atque turbine circumdata vario. Nam perpressa est intestina Regulorum fratrum dissidia et externa bella . . . sic et *alicno crimine fugam, exilium, livores nobilium, sinistram nec meritam famam* . . . et alia quæ omnia forti pertulit pectore et tandem erecto invictoque omnia superavit animo. Adepoi grandia

Boccaccio² calls her the pride of Italy, and asserts that no other nation had ever seen her equal; and the historians of Naples³ have not scrupled to affirm that *she was esteemed the wisest queen who had ever filled a throne, from the days of the Queen of Sheba to her own times.*

nedum mulieri sed robusto ac prævalido regi. Est illi præterea spectabile ac laetum decus oris. eloquium mite et cunctis grata facundia, et uti illi regalis et inflexa majestas est ubi opportunitas exigit, sic et familiaris humanitas pietas, mansuetudo atque benignitas, ut non reginam suis dicas sed sotiam. Quæ majora petas in prudentissimo rege esse? Nec non si quis de integritate mentis suæ omnia explicare velit sermo longissimus.---*Boccaccio De Mulieribus Claris.* (Bern Ed. 1539.)

Cette princesse avait de l'esprit infiniment. Elle aimait les sciences et les savans, dont elle avait toujours grand nombre en sa cour. Elle était libérale et bien-faisante. prudente, *sage* et ne manquait pas de piété.—*Moreri, Dict. Historique.*

Par ces dernières paroles l'on voit clairement le grand amour que les Provençaux portoient à cette princesse, qui par-dessus les attraits de sa beauté estoit charmante en tous ses discours et ravissante en ses actions. Estant d'un maintien grave et majestueux, prudente en ses procédures, modérée en sa prospérité, constante en ses adversitez, genereux en ses entreprises, libérale envers les gens de mérite, desquels elle avait toujours grand nombre en sa cour, de toute sorte de profession, de jurisprudence, de médecine, d'astrologie, de peinture, et de poésie. Aimant surtout la justice qu'elle fit exercer assez rigoureusement par tous ses états, défendant genereusement les petits et les foibles de l'oppression des plus puissans, purgeant les champs des voleurs que l'impunité et les factions avoient ramassez.—*Bouche, Histoire de Provence*, l. ix. 393.

² De Mulieribus Claris.

³ Costanzo, Giannone.

The sweet and beautiful majesty of her air, her countenance, and her manners is described as *at once engaging love and commanding respect*;¹ eloquent and learned, to the patient fortitude of the feminine character she is said to have added the magnanimity and inflexible justice of the superior sex.²

But, whilst historians in general acknowledge the various accomplishments of Joanna of Sicily, the regal generosity of her disposition, her liberal patronage of learning and the arts, and are even inclined to exaggerate her great personal beauty, her persuasive eloquence and captivating manners; yet most writers of eminence, and *all* who have written succinctly of her history, represent her as having been in early life deluded, or rather dragged into an abyss of guilt and misery, by the unprincipled ambition of those by whom, either as relatives or dependants, she had been surrounded from the moment of her birth.

The cause of the great difference of opinion which once existed as to the character of this celebrated queen, is easily to be found in party spirit. First, as excited by the contention for her throne; and, secondly, by that great schism in the church of Rome, to which her life fell a sacrifice. A sort of historical compromise on the subject is now generally agreed to. Few doubt that she

¹ Brantôme.

² Melinbourg, Grand Schisme d'Occident.

was in some degree implicated in the crime which drove her into a temporary exile, but none deny that her return to the throne of her ancestors was followed by a long and undeviating course of private virtue and public utility.

A character once impeached is never suddenly restored to fame. One accusation after another is reluctantly given up, and each virtue is separately acknowledged, till the whole reputation is re-instated in its just rank. Though some portion of the light of truth is ever visible beyond the dense mass of calumny which intervenes to hide it from our eyes, yet it emerges but slowly and gradually from the partial eclipse to which it is occasionally subject.

The name of Joanna of Sicily, if we may credit the testimony of the esteemed historians of Naples and Provence, who have been excited by a generous desire to *clear from wrong her memory*,

“ ———— that lies

“ Yet prostrate under Envy’s cruel blow.

demands a higher place than any that has yet been conceded to it in general history ; and those who, on reading the following pages may be induced to believe her innocent of the foul charges made against her, will feel the liveliest compassion for the misfortunes occasioned by the ambition of unprincipled and cruel men, and will regret that it should have been her fate to have

lived in a semi-barbarous age and country, unworthy of such excellence, and wholly unfit for female rule.

To British feeling and imagination, the eventful story of this “*Famous princess, as famous perhaps as any we read of in history,*” acquires additional interest from its striking resemblance to that of the ill-starred queen of Scotland, to whose name a sort of poetical worship is rendered by every refined mind.

No heart is so cold, no fancy so dull, as to remain unmoved at the recital of the misfortunes of Mary Stuart. This vivid interest in her story which time seems rather to increase than to diminish, is partly excited by the saint-like resignation and heroic fortitude of her closing scene, but is chiefly produced by the captivating vision of feminine graces and loveliness which her name calls up from the shadowy regions of the dead.

Some have been as unfortunate, many more estimable, but few have ever so strongly excited, or so firmly retained, the sympathy of mankind. The moralist vainly tells us of the transient power of beauty; truth compels us to confess, that its empire extends beyond the tomb. Had not the unfortunate queen of Scotland reigned over the imaginations of men as *the beautiful Mary Stuart*, who would now busy himself debating the question of her guilt or innocence?

The tragical fate of both these princesses was

produced by the violence of religious dissensions, which furnished the treachery and ambition of their nearest relatives with the means of accomplishing their destruction. The great schism of the west which armed the assassin hand of Charles of Durazzo against his sovereign and benefactress, was but the precursor of that reformation which, depriving Mary Stuart of the affection of her subjects, in general, yielded her up a helpless victim to the intolerant enmity, or selfish ambition of a few designing men, whose machinations precipitated her from the throne to the scaffold.

A modern Plutarch might draw a strong parallel between Murray and Durazzo, Louis of Hungary and Elizabeth of England, and many other coincidences of minor importance in the lives of these two celebrated women.

Perhaps from this similarity of incident it happens, that the story of the queen of Naples has furnished nothing to the dramatist or poet, except a single French tragedy, whilst the misfortunes of Mary Stuart have been the theme of the tragic muse in every cultivated language of Europe. But in this very similarity the biographer should find an incentive to trace, in another age, like causes producing like effects. At this distant period of time, however, no records of the life of Joanna of Sicily are to be found, sufficiently minute to afford a work of un-mixed biography. Those writers amongst her

contemporaries who extol her as possessing every noble quality, and exercising every Christian virtue, are lavish, but not minute, in their encomium; and resting their praise on the general tenor of her conduct, well known to those for whom they wrote, do not specify those particular incidents and characteristic circumstances which would have given historical interest to their panegyrics. This is the more to be regretted, as these authors were personally acquainted with this queen, and therefore entitled to pronounce judgment on her conduct and manners; and being neither her subjects nor dependants, were uninfluenced by any feeling that could bias their judgment further than the gratification arising from her just and gracious appreciation of their talents and worth. Two centuries since, Brantome expressed his regret, that neither Boccaccio nor Petrarch had written the life of a princess they had so highly extolled; and this enthusiastic admirer of Joanna of Sicily was obliged, in his sketch of her life, to have recourse to the fabulous history of Collenuccio, the aspersor of her fame, a work now acknowledged to be of no authority, abounding in anachronisms and obvious fallacies and absurdities.

De Sade, in speaking of preceding biographers of Petrarch, observes, that, on the revival of literature, men of letters aimed only at the graces of style in treating of remarkable personages.

Thus, what should have been biography was merely panegyric, like the insipid *éloge* of the French Academy. Those amongst subsequent historians who, following popular prejudices and the rancorous calumnies of party spirit and religious bigotry, have accused Joanna of crimes of a deep die, are not more circumstantial in their accusations; and the few particulars that are recorded of this queen, exclusive of the circumstances which belong to general history, are scattered about in books of such difficult access, that the writer, after considerable labour and time spent in the research, disheartened at finding the same vague assertions, with a slight variation of phrase, repeated from author to author, would have relinquished the task of writing her life, as one of hopeless difficulty and fruitless labour, had not the era in which she flourished, and the regions over which she reigned, been of such peculiar interest.

Provence and Italy have successively been the cradle and the nursery of the literature of modern Europe, and the fourteenth century was the period when the intellect of man, like that beautiful insect which has furnished the most striking emblem of its immortal nature, burst forth from its temporary slumber, to enter on a new course of increased brilliancy that left its previous stages of existence at an immeasurable distance.⁶

⁶ Non vi accorgete voi che noi siamo vermi

Nati a formar l'angelica farfalla? — *Dante, Purg. canto 10.*

All, therefore, that can be told of this period, must interest the inquiring mind. With all that relates to England in this age, and that portion of Gaul which then constituted the French monarchy, and with the nature and effects of the feudal system, the writings of eminent men have lately made us sufficiently acquainted, whilst southern Europe, at the same period, is comparatively little known to the general English reader.

A marked difference of character distinguished the north and the south of Europe at this period. In arms the northern region decidedly excelled and equalled, if not surpassed, the southern in the abstract sciences : whilst the latter had for centuries the advantage in literature and all the useful and elegant arts and manufactures. The capitals of Germany, France, and England, were at this period merely thatched towns ; that the greater cities of Italy, in the fourteenth century, were of a different description, appears from the appellation of *Alexandria della Paglia*, *Nice della Paglia*, &c. applied to the inferior ones.⁷ The rich citizens of the commercial towns of Italy visiting, in pursuit of trade, the magnificent capital of the eastern empire on the one side, and the Arabian cities of Spain on the other, began to emulate not only the splendor of the public buildings of Constantinople in their public works, but the

⁷ Essai sur les Mœurs, tom 4, p. 180.

luxurious elegance of the Arabian palaces in their private dwellings.* The palaces of their princes and chief magistrates now assumed a character of solid grandeur. Internal navigation began to be promoted by cutting canals, and harbours were improved by works which are still of utility at the present day.†

Every great name, therefore, and every circumstance illustrative of the state of manners, of the prevalent ideas and intellectual acquirements of this interesting period and country, connected with the history of the family or fortunes of Joanna of Sicily, the writer has sedulously sought to bring forward for the amusement of the general reader; anxious to relieve, on the one hand, the dryness of a mere historical narration, and to preserve, on the other, that unity of design, without which a book is tiresome to read and difficult to remember.

If the eventful life of the queen of Naples, “*the ornament and pride of Italy*,” whose idea is associated with that of Boccaccio and Petrarch, with the refined Clement and ferocious Urban

* See the description of the villa Palmieri, near Florence, which Boccaccio describes exactly as it stood, vol. 2, c. iv.

† The great works of the harbour of Genoa were constructed in the 13th century, as also the modern additions to the Mole of Naples, by Charles II. The waters of the Tessino were conveyed to Milan by a canal thirty miles long, which was completed in 1257. At Padua, Modena, and Reggio, similar works were executed.—See *Tiraboschi*, t. 4, lib. iii. part 2.

the sixth, with the saint and the astrologer, the knight, the troubadour, and the scholastic divine, be one of historical interest, her tragical death was not less important in its consequences to that ill-fated country, and to Europe in general. The disputed succession to her crown drew on Italy the devastating invasions of Charles the eighth and Louis the twelfth of France, alike ruinous to the conquered and the conquerors. And the great schism of the west chiefly originating in that spirit of nepotism which has so frequently sullied the pontifical throne with crime, gave the first shock to that overgrown power, of whose abuse, her deposition and death affords one of the most odious examples on record. The dissensions of the Romish church, changing the tone of the rival pontiffs from that of the dictators of kings to that of candidates for their favour, taught both princes and people to hate the one and despise the other of the contending popes. From supporting the claims and protecting the persons, they soon learned to condemn the authority of "*the servants of the servants of the Lord*,"¹⁰ and fifty-one years of contested rule prepared the way for the further humiliation of the See of

¹⁰ The style and title of the Popes, who most scrupulously adopted the language of Scripture, when they most daringly departed from its humble spirit—"Whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant."—*Matthew* xx, v. 27.

Rome, effected by the energy and talents of Luther in the following century.¹¹

As historians differ materially as to several of the transactions of the reign of Joanna of Italy, it was necessary to follow some one as a general authority, otherwise volumes might have been written in balancing probabilities without ever coming to any certain conclusion, like the interminable and useless disputes of the scholastic divines.

Angelo da Costanzo¹² has been the guide chosen through this historical labyrinth; because, *if* not the best historian of Naples of any period, at least only inferior to the profound and philosophical Giannone, who invariably follows him as his authority for the period in question, relating the principal transactions of this reign as nearly as possible in his very words. The narrative part of Giannone's great work is often, in fact, only an abridgment of Costanzo's, whose biographical details are more copious and more spirited,

¹¹ The opinions of Wickliffe were adopted by John Huss, who suffered martyrdom at the Council of Constance, which terminated the great schism. The Reformation rose from the ashes of this intrepid martyr: the undaunted resolution and heroic constancy he displayed in his last trial and sufferings, excited the admiration of Luther, and induced him to read his writings, and their cogent reasonings first opened his eyes to the errors of that church to which he had been in early life so humbly obedient.—*Roscoe's Leo the Tenth*.—*Turner's Hist. of England*.

¹² Il savio e grave Costanzo.—*Giannone*.

and therefore supply much interesting information to a work of the nature of the present, which would be vainly sought in the erudite pages of the industrious civilian. As Costanzo was born little more than a century after the death of Joanna, he might, without any great stretch of probability, have acquired much of his information from the grand-children, if not the children, of those who took part in the events of her reign; and in his introduction he tells us himself, that he wrote his history in part from a journal, kept by the grandfather of the Duke of Monteleone, of the public transactions of the kingdom of Naples in the time of Joanna, and continued by his successors till the death of Alphonso the first. A similar work had supplied his account of those from the death of Frederic the second of Swabia, to that of Charles the second of the Angevine line. Costanzo commenced his history of Naples,¹³ at the suggestion of the celebrated Sannazzaro, and other eminent scholars, who were disgusted by the falsities and absurdities of the fabulous history of Collenuccio, then first published, and the only one the Neapolitans at that time possessed of their own country. From Sannazzaro, Costanzo received many ancient documents, and much useful information. Such was even then the prevalence of the Latin language, that he began to write in that tongue,

as the universal language of Europe ; but finding the labour insupportable, he finally adopted the vernacular idiom, determined, as he says himself, to content himself with the approbation of Italy alone. His style is remarkable for a forcible brevity and simplicity, which seems to convey the undisguised dictates of truth ; and his character for fidelity and accuracy has never been questioned. Partaking of the spirit of the period it records, his history is rather the recital of the exploits and fortunes of individuals, than the chronicle of the vicissitudes of a monarchy ; and a chivalrous interest is therefore attached to his personages, resembling that excited by the *Chronicles of Froissart*, or the *Florentine Annals of the Villani*.

Before we enter upon the immediate subject of this work, it will be necessary to relate those circumstances which concurred to bestow the fairest provinces of France and Italy on the princes of the collateral line of St. Louis, and to give a slight sketch of the history of the Angevine monarchs of Naples, previous to the birth of Joanna, the fourth in succession, though we shall not think it necessary, on the hint of Boccaccio, to follow her ancestry up to Dardanus and Jove, ‘ the father of gods and men.’ ¹¹

¹¹ Joanna Jerusalem et Siciliae regina, præter cæteras mulieres, origine, potentia, et moribus ævo nostro illustris, est fœmina, de qua ni videretur omississe odium satius erat

In tracing the history of the acquisitions of these princes, *Provence* claims our first attention, as having furnished Charles of France, the brother of St. Louis, with the means by which he effected the conquest of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

tacuisse quam scripsisse pauca. Fuit enim hæc sercissimi principis Caroli Calabriæ ducis inelyti et primogeniti celebris memoriæ Roberti Jerusalem et Siciliæ regis et Mariæ Philippi regis Francorum sororis, filia prima, cuius parentum, si velimus avos proavosque in fine usque exquirere non subsisteremus antequam per innumeros ascendentes reges in Dardanum primum Ilij autorem veniremus, cuius patrem Jovem dixere veteres.—*De Mulieribus Claris.*

the powerful monarchy of France—superior by the rich productions of its fruitful soil, prolific of the olive, the grape, and the orange, and by the intelligence and active industry of its inhabitants, derived from the colonies of antiquity, which had flourished on its shores for nearly a thousand years. During six hundred years¹ it had been the favoured *province* of the Roman empire, and derives its modern appellation from having been the first of the Roman transalpine establishments called the Provinces.²

Watered by noble rivers, and, towards its northern confines, intersected by rocky mountains, Provence presents every variety of landscape and climate; and by change of residence from the maritime plains to the hilly regions of the interior, the ancient counts enjoyed a perpetual spring or autumn at pleasure; flying from the parched plains and barren hills of the sea-coast in summer, and again seeking their genial warmth, when the heights of their summer abode were visited by a degree of cold approaching that of the northern countries of Europe.³

The territory inherited by Joanna, queen of Naples, as countess of Provence, comprised the greater and the richer part of the ancient kingdom of Arles, which in the ninth century⁴ had

¹ From 151 A. C. to about 450 A. D.

² See *Appendix*, No. I. ³ Bouche, *Hist. Provence*, t. i. 47.

⁴ A. D. 879.

been separated from the empire of Charlemagne by the marriage of Hermengarde, daughter of Louis the Debonnaire, with Bozon, count of Ardennes, and which, on the death of his descendant, Rodolph the Slothful,⁵ was again subdivided into the sovereign fiefs of Vienne or Dauphiné; the Maurienne or Duchy of Savoy; the Lyonnais; Piedmont, from the Var to the Taglia; the county of Arles or Eastern Provence, south and east of the Durance, from the Rhone to the Var; the county of Fourcalquier or Western Provence, between the Rhone and the Durance; the Venaissin or county of Avignon; the principality of *Orange*, which gave title to William of Nassau, to whom Britain owes so much, and a few other unimportant baronies, dependant on Provence.

In the year 1245, these fiefs, with the exception of the three first, became the inheritance of Beatrice, daughter and heiress of Raimond Berenger, count of Provence. The partial father had given to his three elder daughters, the queens of England and France, and the titular empress of Germany,⁶ a marriage portion of but ten thousand marks of silver each, whilst to his youngest and favourite child Beatrice, he left territories

⁵ A. D. 1023.

⁶ Margaret, wife of St. Louis; Eleanor, of Henry III of England; Sancha, of his brother Richard Earl of Cornwall, elected king of the Romans.

which incited the ambition of the feudal princes of France and Spain to use every means of force or stratagem to obtain the hand of the young countess. The celebrated Romeo de Villeneuve was appointed the guardian of her dominions; and the abbess, the prioress, and an inferior nun, of a convent near St. Remy, were entrusted with the care of her person, for which purpose they left the seclusion of their convent to reside at the court of Aix. Beatrice was surrounded with danger on every side, and in order to secure to her the peaceable possession of her inheritance, her guardians, with the consent of her mother and her sisters, bestowed her hand, before the expiration of the year of her father's death, on Charles of France, brother of St. Louis, who, to procure an alliance so advantageous to the House of France, bestowed on his brother the counties of Anjou and Maine, and thenceforward this prince is known in history by the name of Charles of Anjou.

The year in which this marriage was accomplished, was also the period of the Council of Lyons, at which four decrees were passed, esteemed of almost equal importance by the weak credulity of the age: the observance of the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin—a general crusade against the infidels of Palestine—a red hat to the members of the sacred college—and the deposition of the Emperor Frederic II of Swabia.

Charles of Anjou and his countess were not at this time conscious how much they were personally interested in this last decree, which ultimately transferred the crown of Naples from the children of Frederic II to them and their posterity; but, possessed by the crusading madness of the age, they accompanied St. Louis and his queen into Egypt.* In this disastrous expedition they suffered incredible hardships; the king of France and his brothers were captured by the Saracens, and the queen, in the extremity of her misery, commanded an old knight of her suite to swear to cut off her head rather than suffer her to fall alive into their hands. This faithful vassal took the required oath without scruple, and calmly informed his royal mistress he had previously resolved on killing her in case of any emergency: he was, however, fortunately never called on to give this horrible proof of his fidelity; the Mahommedans showed more mercy than they would have met with from their Christian enemies, had they been the conquerors instead of the conquered, and a large ransom restored St. Louis and his family to liberty.

Pope Innocent IV, in the mean time, found it an easier matter to bestow a red hat on his cardinals, than to deprive the wisest and greatest prince of the age, his former friend and benefactor, of the crown which he had long

* 25 August, 1248.

gloriously worn, in defiance of the active opposition of papal enmity.⁹ Frederick II of Swabia baffled all the hostile measures of the Pope for the remaining five years of his life, and dying in the year 1250, left his Italian dominions to his son Conrad, and in failure of his issue, to his illegitimate son Manfred, prince of Salerno.¹⁰

⁹ On the election of Innocent IV the courtiers of Frederic of Swabia assembled round him to congratulate him on the event; seeing him, rather troubled than pleased on the occasion, they could not conceal their surprise: "Cease your wonder," replied the penetrating emperor, "he was a friendly cardinal, but will be an inimical pope."—*Villani*, lib. 5, p. 88.

¹⁰ The kingdom of the Two Sicilies had passed into the House of Swabia by the marriage of Constantia, heiress of the last monarch of the Norman line, with Henry VI, father of Frederic II; and by the marriage of another Constantia, his grand-daughter, it returned from the Angevine race to his distant posterity of the House of Arragon.

The Sicilian kings of the Norman line were, Roger I, who made the conquest, in 1130; William the Bad; William the Good, his son; Tancred (a name well known to poetry); Roger II; William III, father of Constantia, who was taken out of her convent, where she had been professed many years, to marry Henry VI of Swabia, by the orders of Pope Celestine III. Frederic II was married six times; his fifth wife was the beautiful and amiable Isabella of England, sister of Henry III. Matthew Paris says, he favoured the English much for her sake—"Cæpit Dominus Imperator Anglos specialius cæteris nationibus diligere gratia Imperatricis Isabellæ sororis Regis Angliæ: quæ forma et moribus præcellens omnium favorem sibi comparavit.—*Matthew Paris*, 548. Isabella left a son Henry, to whom his father bequeathed the kingdom of Jerusalem and ten thousand ounces of gold, and the reversion of the empire

On the death of Frederic, Conrad marched a powerful army from Germany to Naples; and, aided by the ability and valour of his brother Manfred, quickly reduced the Guelphs of the Two Sicilies to obedience, but died after a short reign of two years, marked by deeds of cruelty and violence, leaving an only son Conradine, who had remained in Germany under the care of his mother, Margaret of Austria.

In quality of Regent, Manfred immediately possessed himself of the supreme authority in the Two Sicilies; and by the wisdom and equity of his government, rendered himself popular with all ranks of men: unbiassed by party, he promoted all distinguished for talents and worth, and took to his counsels many of those nobles who had been persecuted by his brother as inimical to their house; he restored Naples from the ruins in which it had been laid by Conrad's infuriate rage, and executed many great works of public utility in other parts of the kingdom. As he was not only valiant in arms, and wise in council, but also handsome in his person, lively and engaging in his manners, "courteous, ge-

on the death of Conrad; he died, however, in his twelfth year, before his brother. Frederic 'died in great piety and humility,' and according to the custom of the times, in the habit of the Cistercian order; and notwithstanding his quarrels with the Pope, made many bequests to the Church.—See *Appendix*, No. II.

nerous, and debonair," a proficient in poetry, music, and dancing, and a liberal patron of those who professed these popular arts, under the general title of *lou saber gaie* (the gay science) he was much beloved even according to the testimony of the writers of the Guelph party. Riches and abundance blessed the realms under his sway; and he maintained a formidable force both by sea and land, which rendered him redoubtable in the eyes of foreign nations.

As soon as Manfred found his power as Regent firmly established, he possessed himself of the crown itself, by an artifice unworthy of his great qualities. Taking advantage of the absence of the infant Conradine, he employed messengers to bring to Naples the false intelligence, first of his sickness, and then of his death; and this deception was so artfully managed, that Manfred was, without opposition, solemnly crowned king of the Two Sicilies.

On the remonstrance of the empress Margaret, on this invasion of her son's rights, the able usurper with some justice replied, that but for his exertions, the kingdom of Naples would have been lost to the House of Swabia from the hostile attempts of the See of Rome; and declaring that he was now determined to live and die a king, promised to make his nephew his heir, and thus preserve for him that crown which his tender age would not

permit him to defend himself. Margaret, unable to conduct a contest which would but have ensured the ruin of the House of Swabia, agreed to this compromise; and in token of amity, accepted the costly gifts of jewels and horses sent by Manfred to Conradine as pledges of his goodwill and sincerity.

In his contests with the papal power, Manfred placed his chief dependance on a body of Saracen mercenaries, and on a colony of that people established by his father at Lucera, in the kingdom of Naples; for Frederic II had scandalized all Europe by combating the head of the Christian world with Saracens at home, whilst the other princes of Christendom were fighting the infidels in the east. The superstitious Neapolitans could never be brought to invade the territories of the church, or directly to combat the sacred banner of St. Peter in the field; yet Manfred, without their assistance in arms, successfully resisted the power and enmity of Innocent IV, till the enraged pontiff fearing, as he said, "to be taken captive by him and his Saracens, and sent, with the whole College of Cardinals, to row the galleys," invited Charles of Anjou to his aid, proffering the kingdom of Naples in guerdon of his valour.

The prince selected by the Pope as the champion of the church, resembled his rival but in his inordinate ambition and distinguished valour.

Stern and majestic in his aspect, silent and reserved in his manners, Charles partook of none of the amusements of the princes of his time; giving no welcome or largess to the minstrels and poets of Provence, who flocked to the court of his countess as they had done to that of her father; but, niggard to all else, he bestowed the wealth his frugality enabled him to amass, on the *men at arms* who might aid him in projects of foreign conquests. Bigoted and austere, he was seldom seen to smile; and, though cruel and vindictive, he watched and prayed like a monk, averring, that whatever time was spent in sleep, was lost. Firm in all his resolves, no motive of compassion, no peril, however great, could divert him from prosecuting, at every extremity of danger or cruelty, an enterprise he had once undertaken; whilst faithful and sincere, no motive of self-interest could induce him to break a promise once given. But bold and ambitious as he was, Charles of Anjou at first hesitated to accept the papal offer of one of the most flourishing kingdoms of Europe, dreading the power and ability of the prince with whom he must contest it. A trifling circumstance at last terminated his irresolution.

The sisters of Beatrice could never pardon the partiality of their father, in having left all his territories to her, and took every opportunity of revenging their disappointment on her, by assert-

ing their superiority of rank; whilst Beatrice, like the daughter of Licinius of old, could ill brook the mortifications the public exercise of her sisters' privileges occasioned her. The wisdom of the taciturn Charles had in vain been occupied in debating the momentous question of the invasion of the kingdom of Naples; the petulance of an arrogant woman decided him at once.

At a public festival given at this juncture, the sisters of Beatrice obliged her to leave the seat on which she had placed herself at their side, for one less elevated, as best befitting her inferior station. In the passion of the moment, she flew to her husband, and reproached him as the cause of the continual mortification she endured, saying, it was a hard lot that she, who had had such a noble inheritance, should only bear the title of a countess, whilst her sisters, with their pitiful dower of a few silver marks, should each be a queen.—“Compose yourself, countess,” calmly replied the laconic Charles, “I will soon make you a greater queen than any of them.”¹¹

¹¹ Matthew Paris mentions a more amicable meeting of the sisters in 1254, and elegantly describes the maternal pride of their mother, who accompanied Beatrice—“Fuerat autem mater earum præsens, Comitissa Provinciæ nomine Beatrix; quæ pignora sua quasi altera Niobe gloriando poterat intueri.”—Page 899.

The arms of her four sons-in-law were carved on her tomb. At this visit, St. Louis gave Henry a living elephant, “*pro magno munere*,” the first ever brought to England, and

His word once pledged was irrevocable ; and Beatrice, to aid him in the gratification of her ambition, sold all her jewels and personal ornaments, and expended her private treasure in collecting round her standard, not only her own vassals, but the chivalric youth of France, who were attracted to her service not less by her personal solicitations than by her rich gifts. The French monarch liberally bestowed his treasures for the same purpose ; and the Pope publishing a crusade against Manfred, raised money or troops in every kingdom of Europe.¹²

The sudden death of Innocent IV caused a short pause at this crisis ; but the designs of this Pope were vigorously followed up by his successor, Clement IV, the vassal of Charles of Anjou, who gave him the investiture of the Two Sicilies on the following conditions :

First, that he and his descendants should acknowledge the Pope as Lord Paramount, paying, on St. Peter's Day, a yearly tribute of 8,000 ounces of gold (some say forty, some forty-eight thousand ounces), presenting at the same time a

incredible crowds flocked from all parts of the country to see it. Margaret of Provence also gave Henry a beaker of gold, fashioned like a peacock, " adorned with the precious stone vulgarly called pearls," (et erat quidam lapis pretiosus qui dicitur vulgariter perla), and the eyes of the plumage imitated with sapphires.—*Ibid.*

¹² In England, the Legate raised fifty thousand pounds for the enterprise.

white horse richly caparisoned ; while it was stipulated, that if ever the payment of this tribute were delayed two months, the kingdom should then incur the penalty of an interdict. Secondly, that both Sicilies should continue to form one kingdom, undivided by the will of any future monarch. Thirdly, that neither Charles of Anjou, nor any of his descendants, should accept the imperia¹ crown. And fourthly, that Charles should resign the dignity of perpetual senator of Rome, to which he had been lately appointed, and which might have proved a dangerous means of annoyance to the Pope, when possessed by so near and powerful a neighbour as the king of Naples.¹³

Manfred, hoping to avert the impending storm, sent ambassadors to Charles to treat for an accom-

¹³ Et par dessus cela il donneroit au même Souverain Pontiffe *Palaphrenum album pulchrum et bonum* dit le Latin, une haquenée bonne et belle, de poil blanc tous les ans au jour de la même fête, cens et ceremonie qui se paye et pratique encore aujourd'hui par les rois d'Espagne, maîtres du royaume de Sicile, lesquels par le main de leurs ambassadeurs donnent tous les ans au Saint Père une rescription de la somme sus-alleguée adressée aux officiers de son domaine, en lui présentant encore une haquenée de poil blanc, fort richement harnachée, et sellée, et enjolivée de quantité de rubans, que l'on fait monter par les degrez et marches du palais du Pape, pour lui estre présenté en sa chapelle à l'heure de vêpres de la vielle du Saint Tierre: ainsi que je le vis faire l'an 1638 devant le Pape Urbain VIII en son palais de Montecavaille.—
Bouche, livre ix, §. 7

modation. These ambassadors Charles received in person, and answered with his accustomed forcible brevity, in the following remarkable words—“ *Go and tell the sultan of Lucera from me, that I will either send him to Hell, or he shall send me to Paradise.*”¹⁴ This reply was not a mere hostile bravado, but expressed the real sentiments of the speaker, who, though mainly prompted by ambition, was, like his followers, much influenced by religious bigotry.

Charles was crowned at Rome by a resident cardinal,¹⁵ as the Pope was unable to approach that city, to perform the ceremony in person, from the dangerous state of the roads, and from the disturbances of the capital itself; but found Perugia, a city about sixty miles distant, a safer station from whence to fulminate his decrees against Manfred. The Papal legate, however, accompanied the army of Charles in person, blessed their ensigns and arms, unfurled the standard of St. Peter, and promised immediate entrance to Paradise, to whomsoever should fall in avenging the cause of the church.

Whilst the Guelph cities of Italy sent strong re-inforcements to their own party, the Ghibeline faction were supinely remiss. “Alas!” said Manfred, when he first saw the floating banners of the former party approaching in fearful array

¹⁴ Costanzo.

¹⁵ Bouche, Hist. Provence, Jan. 6, 1266.

against him, “*where is my aid from the Ghibelines, whom I and my father have so effectually served!*”^{16 17}

Thus, abandoned by the Italian partizans of the House of Swabia, his chief dependance was placed on his German and Saracenic troops; for his Neapolitan subjects, popular as he was, were but faint or treacherous soldiers when combating against the standard of the Holy See.

Though the treachery of the Count of Caserta afforded Charles an easy passage at the important pass of Ceperano, yet his success was doubtful, until, by the death of Manfred at the battle of Benevento, he was delivered from an enemy he might not otherwise easily have subdued. The immediate cause of Manfred's death was a trifling accident which, impressed by the credulity of the age, he interpreted as a sinister omen. In the heat of combat, the silver eagle he had himself fastened on his helmet, fell at his feet; whereupon turning to his attendants, he exclaimed, “*Hoc est signum Dei,*” and spurring his horse into the thickest of the fight to escape defeat by death, he fell on the field of battle, though it is not exactly known in what manner; for by the loss of the Imperial ensign, he fought unrecognized either by his friends or enemies. For three days

¹⁶ Villani.

¹⁷ Guelphs and Ghibelines—these two factions for centuries desolated Italy; the first was the Papal, the second the Imperial party.

the hopes of the one and the fears of the other were kept alive. His body was not for that time found amongst the slain; an Italian peasant at last recognized it, and placing it across an ass, carried it to the camp of the victor, crying as he passed on, "Who will buy Manfred?"¹⁸ A French noble, disgusted by his brutality, drove him away, and brought the royal corse, with more appropriate decency of circumstance, to the tent of Charles. The Count of Giordano, the faithful follower of Manfred, was summoned to the tent, without being acquainted with the object for which his presence was required. The first exclamations of his grief at the sight of the body fully identified the fallen prince: "*Woe is me! woe is me! Lord God, what is this!*" burst from his lips, and in the bitter anguish of his soul, throwing himself on the ground, he embraced the lifeless remains of his lord with "*sighs, and tears, and groans.*"¹⁹ The generous chivalry around him, moved to compassion, warmly commended his fidelity, endeavoured to console his grief, and demanded permission from their leader to celebrate the obsequies of their fallen enemy with military pomp. The Apostolic legate, however, would not suffer their wishes to be gratified, and forbade the body of Manfred to be laid in consecrated ground; it was therefore buried near the bridge of Benevento. Each soldier, as he

^{18 19} Villani.

passed in silence before his grave, threw on it a stone, and thus raised a rude, but warlike trophy, not unworthy of the hero's fame. Yet even here his bones were not suffered to rest.

The lands of Benevento had been appropriated to the church at the period of the Norman conquest: nothing unhallowed might pollute their sanctity, and therefore the remains of the excommunicated Manfred were disinterred by the orders of the Bishop of Cosenza, and finally deposited near the river Verde, on the confines of the kingdom of Naples.²⁰

60 Biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto,
Ma l'un de' cigli un colpo ave diviso.
Quando i mi fui umilmente disdetto
D'averlo visto mai, ei disse: or vedi:
E mostrommi una piaga a sommo 'l petto
Poi disse sorridendo: l' son Manfredi,
Nipote di Gostanza Imperadrice
Ond' i' ti priego che quando tu riedi
Vadi a mia bella figlia, genitrice
Dell' onor di Cicilia e d'Aragona,
E dichì a lei il ver. s'altro si dice,
Poscia ch' i' ebbi rotta la persona
Di duo punte mortali, i mi rendei
Piangendo a quei che volentier perdona.
Caribil furon li peccati miei;
Ma la bontà 'nfinita ha sì gran braccia
Che prende ciò che si rivolge a lei.
Se 'l pastor di Cosenza ch' alla caccia
Di me fu messo, per Clemente, allora
Avesse 'n Dio ben letta questa faccia;
L' ossa de' corpo mio sariano ancora

On the death of Manfred, Charles of Anjou proceeded, without further opposition, to Naples ; at a short distance from which city he was met by a deputation of the nobility and citizens, who addressed him in *French*, for even at this period, that language was more generally spoken than any other dialect of modern Europe. The wife and a son and daughter of Manfred soon fell into the hands of the conqueror ; the mother and son died in captivity, but the daughter, Beatrice, at the expiration of fifteen years, was restored to her sister, Constantia, who shortly before their father's death had been married to the king of Arragon.

But Charles was not yet firmly established on the throne of Naples. The young Conradine of Swabia, now nearly grown to man's estate, could not tamely brook the death of his valiant uncle, and the seizure of his Italian dominions, but hastened to assert his title to the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, with a large army of Germans commanded by his cousin²¹ the Duke of Austria.

In co del ponte a Benevento

Sotto la guardia della grave mora.

Or le bagna la pioggia e muove 'l vento

Di fuor dal regno quasi lungo 'l verde,

Ove le trasmutò a lume spento.

Dante, Purgatorio, Canto III.

²¹ Commonly but incorrectly called his uncle. The Duke of Austria was the son of Henry, the eldest son of Fred. II, who had been condemned to perpetual imprisonment for rebellion against his father, in whose life-time he died.

They were received with rapture by the Ghibeline party in Italy, who now repenting of their former remissness in having neglected to assist Manfred in opposing the joint Papal and French usurpation, flocked in crowds to the standard of the rightful heir, and supported his cause by contributions in money to a considerable amount. The ever-tumultuous Romans had lately risen in open rebellion against the Pope, and after expelling him from their walls, received the excommunicated Conradine with transports of joy. The first efforts of Conradine against the kingdom of Naples were eminently successful; but unfortunately for his cause, just at this juncture, Alardus St. Veltri, a French crusader, who had fought against the Infidels in Asia for twenty years, happened to touch at Naples on his way to his native land, where he had resolved to rest his honoured age from martial toil, having vowed never more to seek the field but in the cause of God. Charles easily persuaded his superstitious mind, that the innocent Conradine, a youth of sixteen, of the fairest promise and noblest qualities, was the most obnoxious of the enemies of heaven, and his destruction the most pious work of a faithful Christian. St. Veltri lent his experience to the task, and by his stratagems the army of Conradine was totally destroyed in the moment of supposed victory.²²

Conradine and the Duke of Austria escaped from the general carnage on the field of battle, and habited in the disguise of peasants fled to Astura, where unfortunately wanting money, they offered a ring of great value to a fisherman to convey them in his boat to Pisa. This son of poverty offered the gem for sale to procure provisions for their voyage; the rarity of the jewel gave rise to suspicions as to those from whom he had received it, and they were seized and delivered up to Charles of Anjou by the Count of Astura; for six months their fate was undecided. When the vindictive Charles applied to Clement IV for advice, that pontiff is said to have answered with the crafty cruelty of a heathen oracle—

“ Vita Corradini mors Caroli; mors Corradini vita Caroli”—
but judicial sentence was not pronounced against the two cousins till after his decease, when they were both condemned to death as *enemies of the church*. The condemnation of these princes excited general indignation even amongst those followers of Charles who had profited most by his successful invasion of the kingdom of Naples.”

⁹² And those the rest, whose bones are gather'd, yet

At Ceperanno there, where treachery

Branded the Apulian name, or where, beyond

Thy walls, O ! Tagliacozzo, without arms,

• The old Alardus conquered.—*Dante, Hell, Canto 28.*

⁹⁰ Beuche

His son-in-law, the Count of Flanders, stabbed the judge who signed the iniquitous sentence in presence of the king in council, and all present, not excepting Charles himself, declared he had done well, and was a worthy lord.⁴¹ It is thus that tyrants, either from cowardice or caprice, ever desert the base instruments of their cruelty and injustice.

The adherents of Charles vainly used every intreaty and every remonstrance to dissuade him from his horrid purpose. Conradine and his cousin, with seven or eight of their followers, were on the appointed day led to a scaffold covered with crimson velvet erected at the side of a running stream in the market-place of Naples. At some distance a seat was raised for the king, where he sat in person, probably to prevent the rescue of the innocent Conradine, who had but just entered his seventeenth year.

The young prince ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and on hearing his sentence, turned to the officer who read it, saying, with an undaunted countenance, "Wretched slave, dare you pronounce sentence on a king in his own kingdom? know you not that a sovereign has no peers?" Then addressing the people, he solemnly declared he had never had any intention of injuring the church, but simply desired to recover his inheritance, which not having been able to accom-

plish, he transmitted his rights to Constantia, the daughter of Manfred, and throwing down his glove in token of investiture, desired it might be carried to her husband, Peter of Arragon : an old knight picked it up, and fulfilled his dying commands.²⁵ After this public declaration of his last will, Conradine calmly submitted to his fate ; he was buried on the spot where he suffered, and a small chapel, with a cross, was erected over his remains, before which stood a pillar bearing an inscription expressive of the fiend-like exultation of the cruel conqueror—

Æsturis: ungue leo, pullum rapiens aquilinum

Hic deplumavit Acephalumque dedit.

The last sad circumstance was soon added to this direful tragedy, by the arrival of the mother of the youthful victim with the treasure she had brought for his ransom ; whom the pillar, thus inscribed, guided to his unhallowed grave. The violence of her anguish obtained from Charles permission to transfer his remains to the neighbouring church of Santa Maria of the Carmelites: she applied the riches which she had brought from her distant home with far other purpose, to ornamenting this edifice; and, to make it a fitting receptacle for the remains of the imperial boy, she considerably enlarged the church, where her statue and his tomb are still to be seen.

. ²⁵ See *Appendix*, No. III.

²⁶ *Asturis*, alluding to the count of Astura, who betrayed the prince to Charles of Anjou.

The crown of Naples thus passed from the House of Swabia to that of Anjou;²⁷ and it is remarkable, that from the earliest period of modern history to the present æra, that kingdom has, like England, been governed by dynasties of foreign extraction. The Countess Beatrice did not live long to enjoy the gratification of her ambition, but died two years after her accession to the crown of Naples. The cruelty of her husband's disposition did not break out till after her death. Had she lived she might perhaps have averted the fate of Conradine and Henry of Austria, and have saved his name from the infamy that attaches to it. Insatiable in his ambition, Charles next aimed at the crown of Constantinople, and purchased from the expelled queen²⁸ of Jerusalem her title to that kingdom, and a part of the principality of Antioch, which she still possessed; and this unproductive purchase of a nominal sovereignty was always set forth by him and his descendants as the first and proudest of their titles. All his schemes for further aggrandizement were however thwarted by the secret opposition of succeeding popes, and of his nephew, Philip the Bold, king of France; whilst a considerable portion of what he had already acquired was lost by the rebellion of the Sicilians at the period of the Sicilian vespers.²⁹ The causes and con-

²⁷ A. D. 1269.

²⁸ Maria, daughter of Bohemond IV.

²⁹ March 30, 1282.

sequences of this event are too well known to be enlarged on here; but it is worthy of remark, that whilst the ferocious multitude massacred even the Sicilian women who had united themselves to the Provençal settlers, they spared William des Porcellets, a baron of that nation, in consideration of his probity and humanity, and even provided him with a ship to convey him in safety to his native country; a memorable example of the respect and gratitude which distinguished virtue commands in the rudest ages.³⁰

³⁰ Honor and valour seem in these ages to have been hereditary in the family of the Des Porcellets. A century before this, the grandfather of the William des Porcellets mentioned in the text, by his presence of mind and generosity, saved Richard Cœur de Lion from being taken captive by the Saracens. Richard had fallen into an ambuscade which Saladin had placed for him, and vainly contending against numbers, was on the point of being taken, when William des Porcellets calling out in the Saracen tongue, "*I am the King,*" attracted their undivided attention, and thus afforded Richard an opportunity of escaping. The magnanimous Saladin received his prisoner with distinguished honors, applauded his valour and loyalty, loaded him with costly gifts, and treated him in every respect as a king; and he was finally exchanged for ten of the greatest princes of the House of Salādin. The manner in which this noble race was said to have acquired the name of Des Porcellets, is a curious instance of the superstitious spirit of the middle ages. A lady of this house, harshly refusing alms to a poor woman, the mendicant exclaimed, "I pray God, madam, you may have as many children at a birth as that sow is leading young ones." The prayer was fulfilled, and the uncharitable dame had nine sons at a

The Sicilian hero, Ruggiero Di Loria, not only baffled all the efforts of Charles to recover the island of Sicily, but insulted him in his own capital, and burned his ships within sight of Castel Nuovo, where he held his court.³¹ In the year 1286, the indignant monarch went from Naples to Provence, for the purpose of raising a naval armament strong enough to wrest the empire of the seas from Ruggiero. At parting, he strictly enjoined the Prince of Salerno, his only son, to refrain from combating any enemy that might appear before Naples in his

birth, who established themselves by deeds of arms in various countries. This miraculous story was in the 17th century still visible in sculpture on the portals of a mansion at Arles, in Provence, and of another at Burgos in Spain, possessed by this family. We shall not, perhaps, depart much from the truth, in supposing that some band of adventurers invented this tale, to hide the meanness of their origin, and that the progenitor of this truly noble race was a swine-herd. The Des Porcellets filled the highest offices under the Angevin princes of Naples—one of the name was Grand Chamberlain to Joanna of Sicily.—*Moreri, Dict. Hist.*

³¹ “Sire Dio, dappoi t’è piacciuto di farmi avversa la mia fortuna, piacciati che ’l mio calare sia à petit pas,” was, according to Villani, the exclamation of Charles, on hearing of the Sicilian Vespers.

“Ah! Dieu molt m’aves offert à surmonter; je te prie que l’avalier soit tout bellement,” said he, breaking in pieces a small switch it was his custom to carry in his hand, when Ruggiero burned his ships in the Bay of Naples. This is at least the French of the time of Villani, who died of the great plague, in 1348.

absence. The rash youth, disregarding these orders, was provoked to combat by the artful insults of Ruggiero; and when his galley was on the point of sinking, was forced to yield himself captive. It was on this occasion that Beatrice, the youngest daughter of Manfred, was set free by the Prince of Salerno, at the request of Ruggiero di Loria, after a dreary imprisonment of fifteen years, during which she had lost her mother and brother, the companions of her captivity. On their passage to Sicily an incident happened, which provoked the mirth of the prince and his attendants notwithstanding their unfortunate situation. He was standing on the deck of the galley surrounded by his fellow captives in their splendid armour and surcoats, when a boat from the promontory of Sorrento, with a present of ripe figs and money, intended for Ruggiero, approached the vessel. Mistaking the prince for the admiral, the bearers of the gift knelt before him, and addressed him in these words—"My Lord Admiral! may it please you to accept these fruits and this gold, from the Community of Sorrento, and would it had pleased God that you had taken the father when you took the son;" the prince laughing heartily at these words, turned to the admiral, and exclaimed, "Pour le Saint Dieu! that would have been very fatal to my lord the king!"³²

³² Pour le Saint Dieu ce soint bien fatable à Monseigneur le Roi : — *Villani*, lib. vii. cap. 92.

On landing in Sicily, the Prince of Salerno narrowly escaped death. The populace of Messina exasperated at the evils they had suffered from an interdict laid on the island for their rebellion against his father, surrounded the prison where the French captives were confined, with the intention of massacring them without distinction. These unfortunate men so ably defended themselves in the first instance, that they beat off their assailants, who, however, returned shortly after with fire-brands, and with cowardly cruelty set fire to the prison they could not force, and the brave captives perished in the flames. The Prince of Salerno was happily not confined with his followers, and he probably owed much to the good offices of the Princess Beatrice, who had accompanied him from Naples. This prince, though a little lame, was remarkably handsome, and, unlike his father, was so courteous, magnificent, and generous, as to be termed *the Alexander of the age*. Beatrice, who from infancy had known mankind only in the harsh features and rough manners of a jailor, was likely to feel compassion for such a prince, reduced to captivity in the same moment in which she was restored to friends and freedom.

Constantia of Arragon, however, who governed Sicily in her husband's absence, terrified by the ferocious clamours of the populace, who on the destruction of the other French prisoners, demanded

the immediate execution of the prince, sent him a message to prepare within a few hours to die the same death his father had inflicted on her cousin Conradine. The cruelty of superstition produced so many horrible actions in these sanguinary times, that it is a delightful task to relate any instance in which the mild spirit of vital Christianity prevailed. Fortunately for the prince, the day appointed for his death was a Friday; he received Constantia's message with an unmoved countenance, calmly replying, "*I am well content to die that grievous death, remembering that our Lord and Saviour on this day voluntarily suffered his death and passion.*"

Constantia who inherited the noble character of her father, Manfred, was recalled to a sense of her Christian duties by these words, and immediately sent to tell him, "*that if he, for respect to that day, would suffer death so contentedly, she, for the love of him who on that day had pardoned his enemies, would pardon him also.*"³³ From that moment she used every means to protect him from the ferocity of the Sicilians; and by the employment sometimes of force, and sometimes of conciliation, had him at last safely conducted to Arragon.

Charles of Anjou returned to Naples from Provence the day after the capture of his son. True to his inflexible character, he received the

³³ Bouche—Brantome, Life of Mary Stuart

intelligence with the sternness of a Roman father. "*Would he were rather dead, since he has disobeyed our commands,*"³⁴ was his first exclamation; and then turning to his panic-struck followers, he sarcastically reproved their distress—" *Comfort yourselves,*" said he, "*and rather rejoice with me that we are this day rid of a clerk that has often damped our martial ardour.*"³⁵

But however the veteran warrior might disdain to show his secret grief to the curious crowd, the silent anguish he felt at this last misfortune destroyed his life; and in a few months after the imprisonment of his son, he died of a fever, produced by the *workings of a mind "which knew no repose."*³⁶ This Charles, says Villani, was the most powerful and redoubtable king, the most valiant in arms, and the wisest in counsel, which the House of France had produced since the time of Charlemagne, and he who most exalted the holy church of Rome, and would have performed the greatest deeds, if fortune had not turned against him in his latter days.

The usurpation of the crown of Naples had occasioned all those acts of cruelty which should have alarmed the conscience of the dying Charles; but, strange to say, this very usurpation was considered by him in so meritorious a light, that a few moments before he expired, he pleaded its

³⁴ "Or fust il mort parce qu'il a failli notre mandement."—

Villani, lib. 7.

³⁵ Beuche.

³⁶ Villani.

20167.
merits as a sort of counterbalance to his sins in general. "Lord God!" said the expiring king with his last breath, devoutly taking the crucifix in his hands, "I believe truly that thou art my saviour, therefore I pray thee to have mercy on my soul! And as I conquered the kingdom of Naples more to serve the holy church than for my own profit or covetousness, therefore grant me pardon of my sins." History records no more awful instance of self-delusion.

The person of this monarch corresponded with the temper of his mind—his frame was nervous, robust, and tall; his air haughty and majestic—his complexion of a dark olive; and such a peculiar character was given to his countenance by his large aquiline nose, that Dante designates him by that feature alone, in his *Divina Commedia*. The descendants of this prince possessed much of his ability and ambition, and in general of his martial spirit; but from their Provençal ancestors they also inherited beauty of person, courtesy of manner, magnificence and generosity, a love of *lou saber gai*. (as the union of music and poetry was called), and of learning and the liberal sciences in general. One strongly marked prevalent character distinguished the whole race; but that character rather resembled that of the accomplished Manfred, to whose dominions they succeeded, than that of his conqueror and their progenitor *Charles of Anjou*.

The prince of Salerno succeeded his father by the title of Charles II, but was not released from his Spanish prison till two years after the death of the latter, and then obtained his liberty principally by the mediation of Edward I of England,³⁷ who came twice as far as the Pyrennees to treat with Peter of Arragon on the subject of his liberation. Charles II was, however, obliged to leave three of his sons in Spain as pledges to the Spanish king of the fulfilment of the engagements his relatives of the House of France had entered into ; the young princes remained twelve years in Spain as hostages, during which time the count of Valois refused to fulfil his promise of resigning his pretensions to the kingdom of Arragon, and Charles was in the end obliged to purchase this renunciation by giving the faithless count his paternal inheritance of Anjou and Maine as a marriage portion with his eldest daughter Margaret, who became the mother of Philip of Valois, with whom the crown of France was contested by our chivalrous Edward III.

The grandchildren of Charles of Anjou and Manfred of Swabia, were, on the liberation of the Neapolitan princes, united by double marriages ; Constantia and her husband received Charles II³⁸

³⁷ His cousin-german, son of Eleanor, sister of Beatrice of Provence.

³⁸ A. D. 1295.

with the most distinguished honours at the court of Arragon, to obliterate from his mind the remembrance of his former captivity; though that captivity could but have excited sentiments of lively gratitude in the heart of this amiable prince. These marriages were intended to terminate the contest for the island of Sicily, but the natural brother of Peter of Arragon seized it for himself, and baffled the united strength of the kingdoms of Naples and Arragon for a long series of years. During a reign of twenty-five years, Charles II exercised all those mild virtues which ensure the real happiness of a people. Under his father, the Neapolitans had been oppressed by Provençal adventurers, but he, exercising the strictest justice, bestowed his favours impartially on both nations, and was equally beloved by all his subjects; a liberal patron of learning and the arts, Naples was, during his reign, adorned and enlarged by the erection of numerous public buildings, and works of general utility. At the commencement of his reign, he gave the crown of Hungary, which had devolved on him in right of his wife, Maria of Hungary, to his eldest son Charles Martel, intending to bestow that of the Two Sicilies on his second surviving son Robert. The descendants of Charles Martel were never satisfied with this arrangement, but grasped at the whole of the dominions of their progenitor.

Two acts of violence sullied the reign of this

benevolent and just monarch—the forcible expulsion of the Saracens of Lucera in the kingdom of Naples, where they had been suffered to remain by his father, on payment of a tribute; and the imprisonment of the persons, and seizure of the property, of the Templars of Provence, where that order was comparatively richer and more numerous than in any other part of Europe.³⁹ It does not, however, appear, that any thing further than spoliation and imprisonment was practised against the members of this unfortunate order, in his dominions; and the horrible cruelties to which those in the kingdom of France fell victims, did not take place till after his death. The persecutors of the Templars, Clement V, and his near relative and friend Philip the Fair of France, possessed considerable influence over the mind of Charles II, and he was moreover animated against them by the remembrance of his own individual wrongs. During his Arragonese captivity, the Templars had assisted Hugh, king of Cyprus, to seize that part of the inheritance of the queen of Jerusalem, which Charles of Anjou had really possessed, and had established his authority in that kingdom, over which the king of Naples had hoped to obtain more than a nominal sovereignty. Charles could not pardon the ingratitude of this conduct, for his family had been lavish in their gifts to the order from its first

³⁹ See *Appendix*, No. IV.

of the Guelph party, his influence extended throughout the whole of the Italian peninsula, from the kingdom of Naples at one extremity, to his own states in Piedmont at the other. The Popes by their residence at Avignon had much weakened their temporal authority in Italy; and all that their spiritual power gave them was, by their favour, transferred to the king of Naples, their faithful vassal, and their valiant champion in their unceasing contests with the German emperors.

Italy was at this period the nursery of arts, sciences, and letters, and Robert exerted his widely-spread influence, much to the benefit of mankind in general, by his liberal and powerful patronage of learning and learned men: he delighted not only in their conversation, but in hearing them read their works; and liberally recompensed them in praise, and more solid rewards. All those whose fame had reached him he invited to his court, and others repaired to his palace of their own accord, certain of a gracious reception. At an immense expense he collected the richest library in Europe, and committed it to the care of Paul of Perugia, one of the most eminent scholars of the day. From his earliest youth he had scarcely ever passed a day without study; in the camp or the court, it formed equally the relaxation of his leisure moments; the habit had been formed

during his captivity in Spain, and it became afterwards the passion of his life; rather more, perhaps, in old age, than was desirable in a king.⁴⁹ He was constantly surrounded by books, and read even in his walks, often drawing from his studies instructive, and sometimes, we are told, sublime subjects of conversation. He is said to have been an eloquent orator, and a skilful philosopher and physician, taking that word either as implying a knowledge of the works of nature, or the art of medicine; and like all other philosophers and physicians of his time, was profoundly versed in the theological subtleties and astrological visions of the day. It is a curious fact, however, that this most learned king was, in his early childhood, rather of a dull capacity, and had so great an aversion to learning, that his father despaired of his even acquiring the common rudiments of literature. The perusal of the fables of Æsop first inspired Robert with that passion for reading which has conferred greater celebrity on his name than all his martial exploits.⁵⁰ Though, like all his family, fond of the *gay science*, as practised by the troubadours of Provence, he considered the art of poetry as applicable only to trifling subjects, and as ranking infinitely below the erudite studies of the scholastic divine or astrologer, and seems to have been wholly unacquainted with the poetry of his Florentine con-

⁴⁹ De Sade.⁵⁰ Tiraboschi.

temporary, the immortal Dante; but this is the less surprising when we learn that even Petrarch had no copy of the works of Dante in his valuable library, till Boccaccio, with his own hand, transcribed one for him. The writings of these three great men fixed the earliest-formed and the most harmonious of the languages of modern Europe. Dante and Petrarch, in the reign of Robert of Naples established the standard of Italian poetry; Boccaccio fixed that of Italian prose by a work written for his natural daughter, Maria of Sicily, during the reign of his successor Joanna, the immediate subject of this work. Before we enter on the history of the life of that queen, it may be advisable briefly to state the progress of Provençal and Italian literature previous to her birth, as the course of the narration would otherwise be too much interrupted by such a retrospective review. Following the same order we have adopted in the historical narration, we shall commence with the Provençal troubadours, the first of Christian poets in point of time at least, if not of excellence.

CHAP. II.

Literature of Provence—The Monk of the Golden Isles—Langue d'Oc, and Langue d'Oïl—Causes of the Sudden Decline of Provençal Literature—Character of the Troubadours—Noble Troubadours—Pierre Vidal's Instructions to the Jongleurs—The Treasure of Pierre Corbian—Jongleurs—Musical Instruments—Remarkable Troubadours—Pierre Vidal—Geoffry Rudel—William de la Tour—Wilhelmina de Benavès—Satires on the Female Sex—The Sirvente—Pierre de Castelnau—Sordel's Sirvente on the Death of Blacas—The Pilgrim Romeo—Invectives against the Church—Parliaments of Love—Countess de Foix—Decline of Provençal Poetry—Floral Games of Toulouse—Early Sicilian Poetry—Learning patronized by Frederic II—Pierre des Vignes—Early Italian Poets—Poetess Nina—Brunetto Latini—Life and Character of Dante—His attachment to Beatrice—His Marriage—Exile—Visits Paris—His Death—His Minor Works—Villani's Character of him.

THE moody natives of the North have most commonly invoked the fairest of the daughters of Memory, as mighty enchantresses powerful to raise or quell the fearful strife of contending passions; but the light-hearted *Troubadour*, rendering a more cheerful homage, wooed them only as the presiding deities of the festive hour, the willing companions of valour and beauty, in a word as the inspirers of *the gay science*.

So analogous was the character of these early Provençal poets to the genius of the French nation, which is thought to have changed but little by the lapse of time, that though their language is no longer spoken, and their poetry rarely to be found, except in the manuscripts of public libraries, yet the name of *Troubadour* is still borrowed, and rarely without effect, to lend grace and interest to the popular air and ballad.

The labours of the scholar have not been wanting to rescue from oblivion the works and the biography of this popular race of poets. The credulous John and Cæsar Nostradamus, the indefatigable St. Palaye, amongst the French, and the Italian Crescembini, have collected from history and *romance*, more than thirty folio volumes on the curious literature and strange adventures of the Troubadours.

The original authority for most of the biographical relations of these laborious works is found in that of a pious brother, known in Provençal literature as *The Monk of the Golden Isles*:—
“ This monk, who lived towards the end of the fourteenth century, was of a noble Genoese family. The love of study had induced him in early youth to enter the monastery of St. Honorat, off the coast of Provence, in one of the Lerine islands.

“ His learning and talents recommended him

to the charge of the library of the convent which had been once filled with precious and rare manuscripts, but which was now almost in ruins, having been shattered and dilapidated in the wars of Provence; he succeeded, however, in recovering most of the scattered manuscripts, and amongst the most curious, he found one written by another monk of this convent, by command of Alphonso the Second, King of Arragon, and Count of Provence.

“Pride had dictated the first part of this miscellany, which contained the titles, alliances, and armorial bearings of all the noble and illustrious families of Provence, Arragon, Italy, and France. But the poetic taste of the Troubadour king had collected in the second, the works of the best Provençal poets, with an abridgment of their lives. The Monk of the Golden Isles possessed, amongst other talents, the arts of drawing, illuminating, and writing in great perfection. His order had a small hermitage and church on one of the islands which was given to him to serve: he retired there in Spring and Autumn, with another monk of similar tastes, ‘in order,’ says the author of his life, ‘to hear the gentle and pleasant murmurs of the rivulets and fountains, and the sweet song of the birds, contemplating the diversity of their plumage, and the little

‘ animals which differed from those of the main land, and painting them to the life.’ At these seasons he painted the various birds and animals, and delicious views of the shores of these islands. But his chief delight was in copying and embellishing with all the ornaments of his art, the poetry and lives of the Troubadours, contained in the work of Hermenterius. He wrote the lives in red, and the poetry in black, on parchment, the whole ornamented with illuminated letters and figures in gold, azure, and red, according to the taste of the times.”¹

The term Troubadour, a poet or inventor, is derived from the verb *troubar*, which in the Occitanic or Provençal dialect signifies *to find*, to invent. The *trouvère* or *trouveur* of the Langue d’Ouï or French language has the same meaning.²

In the middle ages, France was divided into two distinct portions, whose names were derived from the affirmative particles of their different languages. The Langue d’Ouï, designated the North of France, and the Langue d’Oc the South, from about the latitude of Lyons to the shores of the Mediterranean. The geographical term Langue d’Oc has descended to our own times, though the dialect which gave rise to it exists only in the *patois* of some of the mountain peasants;

• ¹ Ginguéné.

• ² Fabre d’Olivet.

its rival, on the contrary, though now no longer affording a geographical distinction, is refined into the universal French language.

Had the French monarchs held their court in the Southern provinces of France, the *langue d'oc*, infinitely superior to the *langue d'oïl*, in harmony, force of expression, and copiousness, would probably now have held a high rank amongst European tongues; but the smaller states in which it was spoken being gradually absorbed in the French monarchy, the language of the Northern capital as gradually superseded the ancient dialect of the South, which had been formed from a mixture of the Greek and Latin of the ancient colonists with the Celtic of the original inhabitants, and which in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, was still further enriched by the Arabic of their Saraccenic neighbours in the Spanish Peninsula.

At the close of the eleventh century, the marriage of the heiress of Provence united her territories with those of the Count of Catalonia, and various portions of Northern Spain, and Southern France, were, during the middle ages, ruled by the same lords. The courts of their Spanish lords were constantly frequented by the minstrels of Provence, and from the Arabian settlers of the Peninsula they derived the ornament of rhyme, the form of their verses, the character of their poetry, and that superior intellectual cul-

tivation, which for three successive centuries rendered their language and their poetry the admiration of Christian Europe.³

The gallant knight and the gay Troubadour are in our minds closely associated, and not without reason. They flourished and declined much about the same period. The Troubadour, like the knight, was required to be courteous and frank, true and faithful in word and deed; "Like the knight, he selected the lady of his heart towards whom all his thoughts were continually to be directed, whom he invoked without ceasing, whose favour he was to win by his poetic triumphs as the knight by his feats in the field or tournament."⁴ Religion, renown, and love, were alike the sacred objects of their worship, neither ever separated three things closely united in their hearts, God, honour, and the ladies."—"The knight vowed to consecrate his sword to the defence of the weak and oppressed, the Troubadour devoted his lyre to the same sacred purpose. The knight acquired his rank after long

³ The Occitanic dialect seems to have prevailed through nearly the whole of the ancient kingdom of Arles [see page 3], and in the northern parts of Spain. Some of the most eminent of the Troubadours were Spaniards and Italians, though their works are commonly classed under the general head of Provençal poetry; and even in France the district now known as Languedoc is by some thought to have been more fruitful in poetic genius than Provence itself.

⁴ Fabre d'Olivet.

probation as a squire, the troubadour acquired his title in some renowned court, where he at first appeared in the service of an elder bard, as a jongleur. The feudal hall was the resort of both, they were hailed with the same welcome, received the same rewards, and were retained in the service of the same lord."

These closely assimilating characters were often united in the same noble or royal personage. The compositions of William IX, count of Poitou and duke of Aquitaine, who died in 1107, furnish the most ancient specimens of troubadour poetry extant. Alphonso II and Peter III of Arragon, Richard Cœur de Lion,⁴ Frederic III of Sicily, a dauphin of Auvergne, a count of Foix, some of the princes of Orange, and many other of the bravest sons of chivalry, were also known to fame as professors of the art of *jonglerie*. But this art, as the profession of the troubadour was originally called, was principally cultivated by the poor and low-born, as the sure road to riches and honours. Pierre Vidal was the son of a furrier, Perdigon of a fisherman, and Bertrand Ventadour, the favoured lover of Eleanor of Guyenne, wife of Henry II of England, was the offspring of a menial servant.

Excellence in literature is obviously incompatible with the occupations of a sovereign and

⁴ Ginguené observes, that Cœur de Lion was more properly a *trouvère* than a troubadour, as he wrote in the langue d'oïl.

warrior, and the rank, rather than the poetry of the noble troubadours, conferred lustre on the order. Such, however, was the fury of versification which possessed them, that the affairs of war and religion were discussed in verse in the serious sirvente as frequently as those of love in the amorous canzon. Every noble family of Provence is said to have possessed a poetical register of the deeds of arms of its ancestry, frequently composed in the form of a romance, and generally, we may presume, partaking largely of the spirit of fictitious narration.

In one circumstance, however, chivalry and *jonglerie* materially differed. We find female warriors in romance alone, but many noble ladies contributed to the treasures of Provençal poetry. It is lamentable to observe, however, that these modern Sapphos were not more fortunate than the famed Lesbian dame: their lovers were cruel or faithless, and their reputation for poetry exceeded their character for feminine decorum. Some few bright exceptions were, however, to be found to the general fate and character of the poetesses of Provence; the countess De Die was truly loved by the troubadour prince of Orange, though her verses lament his occasional infidelities; for it must be confessed, that great freedom prevailed in the lives and writings of the professors of the *gay science*, and to so great an excess did their dissoluteness of manners

at last arrive, that the troubadour was often chased from court and castle for his audacious and too often successful passion for the wife or daughter of the lord, and misconduct was one of the most efficient causes of the rapid extinction of the order.

In the better days of jonglerie, however, the troubadour was supposed to be the cultivator of science, and the corrector of morals. "Vice," says Pierre Vidal, "has passed from kings and nobles to their vassals—sense or knowledge are no longer to be found in either—knights, formerly loyal and valiant, are become cowardly and deceitful. There is but one remedy for these evils, it is *jonglerie*: this profession requires spirit, frankness, gentleness, and prudence. Let us not imitate those insipid jongleurs who cloy their hearers with amorous and plaintive lays. We must vary our strains—proportion them to the sadness or gaiety of the auditors, and avoid rendering ourselves despicable by mean or ignoble recitals."

Pierre de Corbian, in his somewhat vain enumeration of his own acquirements in a sirvente entitled his *Treasure*, gives a high idea of the knowledge possessed by the eminent amongst the troubadours.

"Though I have not," says he, "castles or bourgs or vast domains, I am nevertheless richer than many a one with a thousand ounces of gold ;

my revenue is but small, but my courtesy and genius are not so. I walk as erect as he whom power and fortune have loaded with their favours. I possess a treasure more precious than diamonds or silver, a treasure which cannot perish nor be taken from me by thieves—it is knowledge.”

As the *jongleur* confesses all knowledge to be derived from God himself, as the first and principal part of his *treasure*, he rapidly runs through the Old and New Testament, beginning with the fall of Adam, and ending with a description of the day of judgment from the Revelation. The second and minor part of his treasure comprehends all the liberal arts in the following order—grammar, the Latin language (of which he is master), logic, rhetoric, the science and practice of music in an eminent degree, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, a little of medicine and surgery, *magic* and all that relates to it!

“ I know,” continued he, “ Mythology *better* than the ingenious Ovid and the lying Thales. I know, by heart, the history of Thebes, of Troy, and of Rome. I know the exploits of Cæsar, of Pompey, and of Augustus. I am not ignorant of who Vespasian and Titus, who destroyed Jerusalem, were ; I can speak of all the *Cæsars up to Constantine*.

“ Grecian history is as familiar to me as that of France, from the time of Clovis, conse-

erated by St. Remy, to the good king Louis, who fell in battle, and who was the most equitable of kings, having never gained or lost any territory but according to justice."

Pierre de Corbian, after having declared himself equally well acquainted with the history of England, and all other kingdoms, finishes by displaying his knowledge of poetry, enumerates the various sorts of verse he is able to write, and says he is equally successful in pleasing both knights and ladies. "Behold my treasure and my pleasure! behold my wealth! it causes me no inquietude, and nothing hinders me from being gay every day of the week." Happy man!

Nearly a hundred different sorts of verse were adopted or invented by the poets of Provence. But they most frequently wrote in a measure of twelve syllables. Their poetry was generally lyrical, consisting of *canzons*, *lays*, *pastourellas*, and *sonnets*, the latter not generally written according to the Italian form of the sonnet, but so called because accompanied by instrumental music—*tenzons*, a poetical dispute on a given question between two or more—and lastly, the *sirvente*, a serious or satirical poem on manners, religion, or politics. Many poems of a higher description and greater extent have also been attributed to the troubadours of Provence; but on the very doubtful authority of John Nostradamus—such as a poem on the capture of Jeru-

salem—the subject of Tasso—a romance entitled *Les Amours enragiadas d'Andre de France*, which recalls the idea of the Orlando Furioso of Ariosto —“ *The Tears of the Age*,” a poem in which the troubadour describes the bliss of man in Paradise, and the miseries which his disobedience brought on the human race. This is said to have been translated into Italian under the title of the Fall of Adam, and to have suggested to Milton the idea of Paradise Lost.

The troubadour, properly so called, rarely recited his own compositions ; they were generally chaunted by the attendant jongleurs, one or more of whom always followed in his train. The *jongleurs* were required to play on some of the following instruments — the harp, the lute, the guitar, the manichord (a sort of spinette), the gigue (a sort of bagpipe), the relee or viol with three strings, the psaltery (a stringed instrument), and a wheel with seventeen strings, now unknown as a musical instrument, as the moderns have been unable to divine its construction, or the manner in which it was played. To these imperfect instruments, the harsher din of drums, cymbals, bells, and castanets, was not unfrequently added. The airs of this period are not thought to have possessed much excellence or beauty ; and we may observe, that the balance between music and poetry is never equally preserved in their union : as music improves, the

verses that are sung to it become gradually worse, and the effect of music on the human mind, however paradoxical it may sound, has consequently almost always been in the inverse ratio of its excellence!

* In addition to music, the *jongleurs*, in the decline of their art, called in the assistance of tricks of sleight of hand for the amusement of their patrons; hence the modern term jugglers. They also imitated the song of birds, displayed the tricks of apes and other animals, which were trained to various feats of agility or dexterity, amongst others, to jump in and out of a number of hoops in succession. Sometimes similar exercises of agility were performed by groups of children, whose flexible forms displayed a thousand graceful attitudes. But all these 'appliances and means to boot,' were not resorted to until '*the noble art of jonglerie*' had fallen from its original dignity and estimation.

Pierre Vidal holds the first rank amongst troubadours for genius and extravagance. He flourished about the middle of the thirteenth century, and excelled all his contemporaries, in harmony of verse and beauty of expression. His happy talents were, however, alloyed by an unfortunate propensity to fall in love with every fair and noble lady whom he saw, whilst his vanity prompted him to believe that he was in return beloved by all; and his indiscreet boasting caused one

indignant husband to pierce his tongue with a hot iron. This severe lesson had, however, so little effect on him, that he shortly after had the presumption to kiss the beautiful Adelaïde of Roque Martine, when she once accidentally fell asleep in his presence. Banished by her from Marscilles, he joined the crusade under Frederic II, to the Holy Land, and became at once the jest and the admiration of the assembled crusaders. Imagining himself a hero, he boasted of his own feats of arms in sirventes, whose more than poetic fictions exposed him to universal ridicule. The nobles encouraged his folly to the utmost, and induced him, at Cyprus, to marry a Grecian woman of low birth, who they persuaded him was the niece and heiress of the emperor of the East. He immediately assumed the title of emperor, arrayed himself and his bride in royal robes, had a throne carried before him, and appropriated the liberal gifts of the barons to raising money for the conquest of his supposed empire.

The exhaustion of his finances probably cured him of this folly, and sent him back in poverty to Europe, to fall into another which had well nigh proved fatal. On his arrival in Provence he became enamoured of a lady unfortunately called *Louvé* de Penautier; he called himself *Loup*, in honour of her name, and not content with this mark of his gallantry, he habited himself in a wolf's skin, and suffered himself to be hunted by

shepherds and dogs, till exhausted by wounds and fatigue, he fell, and was recognized by his pursuers.

The adventures of Geoffrey Rudel are of a more mournful cast than those of Pierre Vidal. In a pilgrimage to the Holy Land he became enamoured of the princess of Tripoli, and on his return to Europe made her the subject of his poetry. This so inflamed his passion that, resigning wealth and ease, at the court of Brittany, he took the cross and returned to Syria. He fell sick on his passage, and arriving at Tripoli in an enfeebled state, sent to inform the princess of his lamentable condition. Touched by his love and misfortunes, she went on board the vessel where he lay dying, to visit him. The joy of the troubadour at this unexpected favour was too much for his exhausted frame to support; in a transport of joy he expired at her feet. The princess, we are told, had him buried with the utmost pomp amongst the knights templars, was seized with melancholy, and took the veil.⁵

The fate of William de la Tour was not less tragical, though better deserved, as the fit fruits of a guilty passion. A lady whom he had carried

⁵ To the fate of Rudel, Petrarch alludes in his *Triumpho d'Amore*—

“Gianfre Rudel ch' uso la vela e 'l remo
A cercar la sua morte.”—*Cap. IV.*

off from her husband died of the effects of remorse shortly after her flight. For ten days he was transfixed to the sylvan tomb where he had laid her ; he took her cold corpse out daily, embraced it, talked to it with the most extravagant fondness, and conjured his departed love, with the most moving entreaties, to return to him ; at length, chased away from the spot by the neighbouring villagers, he roamed about consulting diviners and sorcerers on the means of restoring his mistress to life ; went through innumerable hardships and dangers in the vain quest, and at last convinced of the impossibility, died in despair.

The infidelity of wives has not been peculiar to our own times, and coquettes have been found in all ages, but few have ever been so adroit as the beautiful Wilhelmina de Benavès. She was sought by three noble lovers, all of whom she had the address to please at the same moment. Being one day seated at a table between two of those, the baron de Bergerac and the baron de Blaze, and having opposite to her the third, Savarie de Mauleon, an Englishman, possessing a rich inheritance in Poitou, who united the best attributes of the knight and troubadour, — she smiled sweetly on De Blaze, pressed the hand of De Bergerac, and gently trod on the foot of Savarie de Mauleon !

On leaving her presence, the gratified lovers

boasted each to the other of the favour he had received, but instead of settling their pretensions by their swords, they very amicably argued out the matter in a poetical *tenzon*, where each maintained that the favour he had received was the greatest. From this it may be imagined what was generally the style of the *tenzon*.

All troubadours were not, however, equally lenient to the frailties of the fair; the satires of Adhemar are bitter in the extreme, accusing the sex of rewarding the faithless and inconstant rather than the sincere and devoted, and of preferring the vain trifler to the man of sense and knowledge.* Others satirize the superfluous cares of the toilet, and the vain endeavours of faded beauty to repair the injuries of time by paint and cosmetics, and inveigh bitterly against the extravagant consumption of saffron for dying the hair that golden colour which has, perhaps, a better effect in the poet's page than in nature, but which was so much coveted by the beauties of Provence, that the satirists aver the price of the drug to have been so much enhanced, that it could rarely be procured for ragouts and sauces!

The *sirvente* was of a higher character than the canzon or *tenzon*, and was adopted on all serious or pathetic occasions, as the vehicle of the strains of devotion, or of severe satires on the follies or vices of mankind. The *sirventes* of Pierre de

* See *Appendix*, No. VI.

Castelnau were celebrated for their overpowering effects when aided by the enchanting melody of his voice, which was no less remarkable than the harmony of his poetry. On one occasion their united beauty saved him from the most imminent danger. Returning from the castle of Roque Martine, he passed rather late through the solitary wood of Valogne, when he fell into the hands of a troop of banditti, who after plundering him of every thing, seizing his horse and stripping him of the green robe bordered with silver, which the baron of Roque Martine had given him, led him to the edge of a precipice, intending to precipitate him to the abyss below. His presence of mind did not, however, forsake him in this fearful emergency; he craved a few moments delay to recommend his soul to God; and this favour being granted, begged to have his harp, alleging that he always accompanied his devotions with music. The exquisite pathos of his strains soon arrested the attention of the banditti; when he saw them moved to compassion, he suddenly changed the style of his sirvente, praised their independent and wandering life, superior to law and kingly rule, and in fine so flattered their pride, that they not only restored him his horse, his robe, and his treasure, but doubled his riches from their own stores, and led him in triumph to a place of safety: upon which the troubadour, in pious gratitude consecrated his harp to the saint of a neighbouring monastery.

The sirvente of Sordel, on the death of the baron de Blacas, is a curious example of the satiric style. "Blacas," says the poet, "was a noble troubadour, generous and rich, born equally for love and war, glory and pleasure, desiring the splendor of wealth, and the lustre of poetic fame. Protector of the unfortunate, friend of the oppressed, he had as much pleasure in giving, as others in receiving. The more he advanced in age, the more he grew in generosity, courtesy, and valour; his riches instead of diminishing augmented. The love of his friends, and the timidity of his enemies, continually increased, and what is still more extraordinary, so did his excellence in verse, and his power of winning the favour of noble ladies.

"I will bewail him in simple strains, for sadness dwells in my heart. I have lost a generous master and a kind friend. Wisdom and valour lie buried in his tomb. Provence will never recover this mortal blow. No remedy for a misfortune so great remains but to divide his noble heart amongst the princes who fail in courage, when they have partaken of it, they will have enough.

"Let the emperor of Rome' partake first, he has great need of it, if he desire to subdue the Milanese by force, for they deem him already conquered, and despoiled of all his fortresses, notwithstanding the numerous nations he rules.

Frederic II, of Swabia.

“ Let the king of France⁸ next share the noble heart, that he may recover Castile, which he loses by his indolence, but let not his mother know it, or he will not be allowed to taste it, for it appears, to his cost, that he submits to her in all things.

“ For the king of England,⁹ as he has little courage, I will that he take a double portion. When brave and wise he will recover the states which the king of France has wrested from him, knowing his imbecility.

“ Let the king of Castile¹⁰ take for two, for he has two kingdoms, and has not ability to govern one ; but let him do it in secret, for if his mother hear of it, she will correct him with stripes.

“ Let the king of Arragon¹¹ also strengthen himself with the noble aliment. Never otherwise will he be able to efface the disgrace he incurred at Marseilles.

“ Then I will give a portion to the king of Navarre,¹² whom all repute a fitter count than king. ’Tis pity, when God raises a man to power and rank, he should not endow him with sense and courage to support his dignity.

“ Let the count of Provence nourish himself abundantly with the noble heart. Let him think how a prince is dishonoured in losing his domi-

* St. Louis. 9 Henry III, of England.

¹⁰ Ferdinand III. ¹¹ James I.

¹² Thibault, previously count of Champagne.

nions, and the great efforts he must make to regain them:—the burthen he has to bear, requires the aid of this noble heart.”

This last-mentioned prince was Raimond Berenger V, father of the Countess Beatrice, who had been fraudulently deprived of a great part of his dominions by his Spanish guardians. The noble Biacas was replaced by Romeo de Ville-neuve, whose wise administration raised Provence to a degree of prosperity hitherto unknown. The gratitude of the native poets celebrated his virtues as super-human, and invested his character and story with the mysterious obscurity of a delegate from heaven.

“An unknown gentleman returning from the shrine of St. Jacques de Compostella, visited the court of Raimond Berenger, count of Provence. Pleased with the gracious reception he met with, he attached himself to the service of this prince, and soon became his prime minister. His wisdom soon tripled the revenues of the count, whilst he relieved the people from forced loans and other oppressive taxes, so that Berenger had soon, not only a brilliant court, but an army to combat his enemies with success. The marriage of his four daughters with four kings was thought to raise the glory of his house to its height. Envy was, however, as active in the court of Provence as in that of greater states. Raimond, prejudiced by the arts of those who surrounded him, demanded

from the pilgrim an account of his stewardship. After an examination which fully proved his integrity, he thus addressed the count:—‘My lord, I have served you long and faithfully, and have so benefitted your principality, that from a small, it is grown to a large state. The malice of your barons would fain induce you to repay my services with ingratitude. I came to your court a poor pilgrim. I have filled the station you placed me in, without pride or meanness. Give me back my staff, my scrip, and my mule: as I came, so will I depart.’ The count vainly endeavoured to change the determination of the pilgrim—he left the court, and none could tell where he went or who he was.”¹³

¹³ The unsentimental industry of the Provençal historians has proved this pretty story to be but a poetic fiction. Romeo de Villeneuve, a Provençal baron, was appointed by the testament of Raimond Berenger, the guardian of his daughter Beatrice, negociated her marriage with Charles of Anjou. Dante has introduced this troubadour tale into the *Divina Commedia*; and though he has made it more pathetic, he has destroyed the mysterious effect of the abrupt disappearance of the holy pilgrim. From the *Divina Commedia*, the all-believing Villani has inserted it in his romantic history:

Within the pearl that now encloseth us,
Shines Romeo’s light, whose goodly deeds, and fair,
Met ill acceptance. But the Provençals

- That were his foes have little cause for mirth.
In shapes that man his course, who makes his wrong
Of others worth. Four daughters were there born

This same Raimond Berenger is himself sometimes counted amongst the number of noble Troubadours, but whether entitled to that distinction or not, he was one of the most liberal patrons of the order. To attach the troubadour Perdigon to his court, who has already been spoken of as the son of a fisherman, he married him to a lady of the house of Sabran, one of the noblest in Provence. The grateful poet dying in 1269 without issue, left the wealth he had acquired by his talents, and the inheritance of his noble spouse, to the heir of his benefactor, the morose Charles of Anjou, then in right of Beatrice, count of Provence. This princess possessed all her father's love of *lou saber gaie*, and ere she left Provence, with her own hand crowned the troubadour, Hugh de Penna, in the presence of an immense concourse of people assembled to behold the ceremony; the poet repaid the honour by addressing the princess in the following complimentary quatrain:—

To Raimond Berenger, and every one
Became a queen; and this for him did Romeo,
Though of mean estate, and from a foreign land.
Yet, envious tongues incited him to ask
A reck'ning of that just one, who return'd
Twelve fold to him for ten. Aged and poor
He parted thence, and if the world did know
The heart he had, begging his life by morsels,
'Twould seem the praise it yields him, scanty dealt.

Paradise, Canto 6, 180.—Cary's Translation.

“ Yeù voli faire esclatir la memoria
 En tantas parts de ta perfection
 Qu'estaran tous en admiration
 D'auzir contâ de tous bel fatz l'istoria.”¹⁴

The crown bestowed by Beatrice on this occasion was probably of peacocks feathers, as that was the customary decoration of a troubadour on such occasions. The eyes of the plumage of this *noble* bird (for so it was termed) being considered symbolical of those of the spectators, turned on the troubadour when he recited his compositions.¹⁵

The Provençal poets inveigh with peculiar bitterness against the corruptions of the clergy, and the tyranny of the church of Rome. “ The priests and monks make profit of all in turn,” says Pierre Cardinal, “ God and Satan's indulgences and pardons, are equally useful to them. To these they grant Paradise with their pardons—those they send to perdition by their

¹⁴ I will spread the fame of your perfections in such various countries, that all shall be lost in admiration at the recital of your noble actions.

¹⁵ Le Pape, Paul III, envoyant au Roi Pepin une épée benite accompagna ce present d'un manteau tissu de plumes de paon. St. Palaye Mem. sur l'Ancienne Chev. t. I, 243.—Leur plumage avoit été regardé per les Dames des cercles de Provence comme le plus riche ornement dont elles pussent décorer les troubadours; elles en avoient tissu les couronnes qu'elles donnoient comme la récompense des talens poetiques consacrés alors à célébrer la valeur et la galanterie.—*Ibid*, 183.

excommunications—they deal blows we cannot parry—none can so skilfully construct fraud, that they will not surpass them in treachery—there is no vulture so acute in smelling carrion as a priest is in finding out a rich man—instantly he makes him his prey—on his death-bed he cajoles him to make the church his heir and despoil his natural relations—you see him coming forth from the resort of the abandoned with a haughty air to attend the altar. Formerly, emperors, kings, dukes, counts, and knights, governed their estates; but now the clergy, partly by open force, partly by their hypocritical preaching, have usurped their authority.”

The execrations of William de Figuera rise to the sublime in their energy. “May the Holy Spirit who took a human form hear my vows and break thy beak. Rome, treacherous beyond the powers of man’s comprehension towards us and towards the Greeks. Rome! thou draggest the blind with thee to the bottomless abyss, thou overleapest the boundaries God has prescribed thee, thou absolvest sins for a price, thou chargest thyself with a burthen thou canst not support. God confound thee Rome! — Rome of evil manners and bad faith.”¹⁶

This is but a small part of what might be quoted on the same subject. The troubadours had sufficient cause for the bitterness of their

¹⁶ Ginguené, *Hist. Litt.*

invectives. Provence had been the scene of the crusade against the Albigeois, which had devastated their native land, ruined their patrons, and caused the death and imprisonment of numbers of their order, and the dispersion of the rest. Many languished in exile and poverty, and many more perished in the dungeons of the Inquisition, which was expressly instituted on this occasion, and which still exists to disgrace the earth!

The troubadours of Provence had been hitherto judged by a gentler tribunal in *the parliaments of love*, where the rewards of poetical excellence were bestowed by the hand of the fair—questions of difficult solution decided by their ingenuity, and the quarrels of lovers settled by their mediation.

Some of the decisions of those courts have been handed down to us. A wise and valiant man paid his court to a lady and demanded her heart; one wiser and more valiant addressed her soon after—which should she accept? The countess of Narbonne decided that she was free to choose either *the good or the better*.

The countess of Champagne being asked what gifts a lady might receive from her lover, in all honour and worth, replied, a garland of gold or silver, ribbands, coifs, and other ornaments for the head—purses, girdles, combs, gloves, rings, trinkets of little value, and in general all those

trifles which ornament the person, please the sight, and recall the remembrance of a lover.

Our ideas of the conjugal state cannot easily be reconciled with the prevailing sentiments of these times. The same noble lady being asked if love could subsist in marriage, and if jealousy should subsist between lovers, *officially* replied, that there could be no love without jealousy, and that love could *not* subsist in marriage; because in love all was free grace, in marriage all was duty. Acting on these ideas, every married lady had a professed lover, whose avowed admiration did not in the least impeach her reputation.

Agnes of Navarre, the wife of Gaston, count de Foix (surnamed Phœbus for his beauty and accomplishments), is recorded to have been an amiable and strictly virtuous princess, and according to the ideas of her contemporaries, of unblemished reputation; yet she *poetically* loved William de Marchaut, one of the best French poets of the Petrarchan age; addressed amatory verses to him, and commanded him to publish in his, the circumstances of their mutual attachment; and when he became jealous without cause, she sent a priest, to whom she had confessed, to certify her fidelity and the injustice of his suspicions.

However the *heart* might remain unmoved by these *fantasies*, they had, without doubt, the effect of diverting the *mind* from the legitimate object of love and duty. Whilst the countess

Agnes was occupied in composing the verses she addressed to her troubadour lover, we cannot feel much surprise in hearing, that the count de Foix should have become indifferent to the wife whose highest ambition it was to please another. However merited by the folly of her conduct, the pride of the princess was deeply wounded by the open neglect of her husband; and the domestic unhappiness it caused ultimately occasioned the tragical death of their eldest son, as recorded by Froissart.

The brightest period of the Provençal poetry was from about the close of the twelfth to that of the thirteenth century; in the fourteenth it began to be eclipsed by that of Italy, and in the fifteenth expired with the institutions of chivalry.

In the fourteenth century various causes combined to deprive the poets of Provence of the brilliant pre-eminence they had so long enjoyed:—the astonishing progress of the Italian language, the growing licence of their own manners, and lastly, the emigration of their native princes to Naples, which not only deprived them of the centre of re-union, and the scene of their triumphs, which the court of Aix had formerly been in their native land, but even of a great portion of the patronage of the nobility in their scattered castles, as the noblest of their barons followed the fortunes of Charles of Anjou, and his descendants, on the shores of Italy.

In 1323 the floral games of Toulouse were instituted, in the vain hope of reviving the declining spirit of Provençal poetry ; at these assemblies the prize was first a violet of gold, to which was afterwards added a pansy and an eglantine of silver.

This brief notice of the troubadours cannot be better concluded than in the words of Tiraboschi, who satisfactorily accounts for the extravagance of the adventures assigned to them : “ As their poetry was principally of love, it was necessary for them either to feel or feign the passion, to celebrate its object, and to relate the dangers into which it led them. Each sought to surpass his rival, as much in the marvellous recital of his own adventures as in the spirit and beauty, of his compositions. These poetic fictions were often received by their auditors as truth, and were orally transmitted to posterity ; and having no other occupation but to love and to sing their passion, loving and singing they often became distracted. Hence we read in their history, of pilgrimages, poison, incantations, and death itself, as the last resource of despair. But as amidst all their follies their poetry abounded in lively and ingenious thoughts, the troubadours were closely imitated by succeeding poets ; and the princes of Italy, like those of other nations, strove with each other to honour and reward their talents.”

It was not on the main land of Italy, however ;

that poetry first exchanged the Provençal for the Italian language. Dante, in his work on the literature of Italy, says, that the entire poetry and literature of that country was called *Sicilian*, because the best had emanated from the court of Sicily, during the reign of Frederic of Swabia, to whom we have adverted in tracing the history of the house of Anjou: and to that prince we must again return, to trace the progress of that literature which was alike fostered by the Swabian and Angevine princes.¹⁷

¹⁷ The Italian language, in the middle ages, was termed *lingua Latina*, from its resemblance to the Latin tongue; and so closely do the ancient and modern languages of Italy approximate, that some ingenious scholars have amused their leisure in composing pieces which may be read as Latin or Italian, at pleasure. This circumstance is the more remarkable, as though the majority of Italian nouns and adjectives are *literally* Latin, yet nothing can be more opposite than the general character of the two languages—the one distinguished for nervous brevity and elegant simplicity, the other for harmonious softness and redundant luxuriance of expression.

The majority of Italian nouns, substantive and adjective, are the original Latin, preserved in the *ablative* case only. This circumstance is easily accounted for. In all Latin nouns increasing in the genitive case, the chances were five to one, or we may say eleven to one, that the original nominative would *not* be the one remembered by the tribes of illiterate barbarians, who mingled with the Latin population on the fall of the empire; and as words are most easily remembered in connexion, the prepositions serving to the *ablative*, impressed that case on the memory; from these prepositions the articles of the modern Italian are evidently derived. To verify this

Frederic II was the greatest prince of his time, not only as distinguished for superior political ability, but for the variety of his attainments. Master of the Greek, Latin, Arabic, French, German, and Italian languages, he was well versed in the learning of his age, and encouraged its progress throughout the whole extent of his dominions. He established schools in Sicily, which had previously been destitute of instruction, and founded the university of Naples, which soon rivalled the celebrated university of Bologna. At Palermo he instituted an academy of poetry, into which he deemed it an honour to be admitted with his sons, Enzo and Manfred, though his own verses were amongst the best of the Sicilian poetry of that period. His court, according to the testimony of ancient authors, was the resort of poets, ministers, orators, and men distinguished in every art.

observation, it is only necessary to open any Italian book, and trace the generality of nouns in the following manner:—

<i>Italian.</i>	<i>Latin.</i>	<i>Ablative.</i>
regno	regnum, i	regno
pace	pax, pacis	pace
venere	venus, veneris	venere
gratitudine	gratitudo, inis	gratitudine, &c.

In some a single letter has been changed to soften the pronunciation; as, *patre*, *padre*; in others a syllable has been struck off, as *rè*, a king, from *rege*; *virtù*, from *virtute*; *carità*, from *caritate*. All words so abbreviated are marked with the grave accent in Italian, and are called *tronche*.

One of the favourite studies of this accomplished prince was natural history; and a treatise written by him on falconry, in which he enters into the structure and habits of the feathered tribe, still exists, to prove the accuracy of his knowledge and the acuteness of his observation on the subject. The reforms he introduced into the study of physic are beneficially felt by posterity to this day. It was he who first made a licence, obtained at some university, necessary to the professors of the healing art, and ordained that physicians, before taking their degree, should study philosophy three years, and pharmacy five, and then should be examined by two who had already obtained the degree of doctor of medicine. More effectually to promote this study, he employed learned men to translate into Latin the works of the Arabian physicians, which contained, not only the result of their own experience, but the precepts of the ancient Greeks, and enjoined the study of these translations in all the universities. He likewise gave the works of Aristotle to the Christian world, thus benefitting his Christian contemporaries by the diffusion of the superior knowledge and science of the Saracens, whilst he employed their arms to protect his just rights against the aggressions of his faithless brethren.¹⁸ Frederic found a companion

¹⁸ Michael Scot, the well-known wizard of "The Lay of the Fisher-Maiden," executed several of these translations. He re-

in his studies, and an able coadjutor in all his undertakings, in his celebrated Chancellor, Pierre des Vignes, who was equally excellent as a statesman, lawyer, poet, philosopher, and orator. Pierre des Vignes was born at Capua, of ignoble parents, and studied at the university of Bologna in extreme poverty, when chance made him known to Frederic, who possessed that quick appreciation of talent and worth, which forms, perhaps, the most essential qualification of an able ruler. Des Vignes was soon admitted to the confidence and friendship of the emperor, and appointed to the highest offices, whilst every embassy of delicacy or importance was committed to his abilities and zeal. On one occasion, at Padua, he pleaded the cause of his master, in a general assembly of the people, against an unjust sentence of excommunication, the intelligence of which arrived at the very moment when he was addressing them on some other subject, and took two lines of Ovid as the text of his extemporaneous discourse.¹⁹

sided at the court of Frederic as his astrologer, and was popularly considered a magician.

“ ——— That other, round the loins
So slender of his shape, was Michael Scot,
Practis'd in every slight of magic wile.”

Dante, Inferno, Cant. 20.

After the death of Frederic, he returned to Scotland, where he died at an advanced age in 1290.

¹⁹ “ *Léniter ex merito quidquid patiarc ferendum est ;
Quæ venit indignè pœna dolenda venit.*”

Ginguené, t. i. 348.

This great man not only shared the fatigues and agitations of his master's life, and the vicissitudes of his fortunes, but also the calumnies which were spread against him by his inveterate and unjust enemy, Gregory the ninth. Amongst other unfounded charges, Gregory asserted in a circular to all the bishops and princes of Europe, that Frederic had maintained that the world had been deceived by three impostors — Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet. Frederic replied to this circular by another, in which he formally denied the charge. The accusation thus acquired further publicity; and as calumny always increases by dissemination, it was soon asserted, that the emperor and his chancellor had written a book under the title of *The Three Impostors*.²⁰ The infamy of this supposed work, of which the title alone ever existed, was long borne by Frederic and Pierre des Vignes.²¹

²⁰ Tiraboschi.

²¹ Alors Grégoire IX accusa publiquement Frédéric II d'incrédulité. " Nous avons des preuves," dit-il, dans sa lettre circulaire du premier Juillet 1239, " qu'il dit publiquement que l'univers a été trompé par trois imposteurs—Moïse, Jésus Christ et Mahomet," &c. C'est sur cette lettre du pape Grégoire IX qu'on crut dès ces temps là qu'il y avait un livre intitulé " De Tribus Impostoribus;" on a cherché ce livre de siècle en siècle, et l'on ne l'a jamais trouvé.—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, t. iii. 176.

For an extract from Pope Gregory's Letter, see *Appendix*, No. VII.

But the unfortunate chancellor was doomed to fall a victim to a calumny of another kind. We may wish, for the honour of human nature, that the rest of his story could be suppressed. His fate is a shocking instance of the malice of courtiers, and the ungrateful and credulous distrust which oft-discovered treachery implants in the hearts of the best princes. The Saracen enemies of Frederic had more than once magnanimously revealed to him the murderous plots of his christian subjects or allies, and he had been obliged to condemn his own son to perpetual imprisonment, as a pretender to his throne and coadjutor of his persecutor Gregory IX. When his courtiers, envious of his friendship for his faithful chancellor produced forged documents, implicating the latter in a traitorous correspondence with the Pope, they found him unfortunately too open to persuasion on such subjects. The malice of the courtier is ever, in the end, more powerful than the favour of the monarch, and Pierre des Vignes was condemned to be confined in a fetid dungeon, and have his eyes put out. Here, in a fit of despair, he terminated his existence ;²²

²² Dante, in his *Inferno*, makes the unhappy suicide terminate his existence by dashing his head against the pillar to which he was attached, and thus pathetically declare his innocence of any crime against his beloved master :—

“————, I it was who held

Both keys to Frederic's heart, and turn'd the wards,

and Frederic survived his faithful servant but two years.²³

Six books of letters in Latin by Pierre des Vignes are still extant; they have been several times printed, and are full of historical interest; conveying a lively picture of the obstacles raised

Opening and shutting with a skill so sweet,
That besides me, into his inmost breast
Scarce any other could admittance find.
The faith I bore to my high charge was such,
It cost me the life-blood that warm'd my veins.
The harlot who ne'er turn'd her gloating eyes
From Cæsar's household, common vice and pest
Of courts, 'gainst me inflam'd the minds of all;
And to Augustus they so spread the flame,
That my glad honours chang'd to bitter woes:
My soul, disdainful and disgusted, sought
Refuge in death from scorn, and I became,
Just as I was, unjust towards myself.
By the new roots which fix this stem, I swear
That never faith I broke to my liege lord,
Who merited such honour; and of you,
If any to the world indeed return,
Clear he from wrong my memory, that lies
Yet prostrate under envy's cruel blow."—*Canto 13—Cary's*
Translation.—See *App.* No. VIII.

²³ The following brief but expressive epitaph was engraved on Frederic's tomb at Palermo, by his son Manfred:—

Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas orti, possent resistere morti,
Non foret extinctus Fredericus, qui jacet intus.

Villani.

For specimens of the poetry of Frederic and Pierre des Vignes, see *Appendix*, No. IX.

against Frederic by the court of Rome, and of his indefatigable activity in surmounting them. These letters are mostly written in the name of the emperor, and in them are to be discovered abundant traces of the protection granted to letters by him and his chancellor.²⁴

The poets of the Tuscan and Lombard cities, incited by the example of the court of the Two Sicilies, soon began to write in the Italian in preference to the Provençal language, though they long continued closely to imitate the troubadours of Provence in other respects; but of all these early writers, we shall here only notice Brunetto Latini, the preceptor of Dante,—and the poetess Nina, whose love of her art caused her to become enamoured of a poet whom she had never seen. This fortunate bard (who returned her poetical passion with equal ardour) was called *Dante*; but we cannot plead in her excuse that he had any thing else in common with the great poet of that name. Nina was the most beautiful woman of her day, and the first female who wrote verse in the Italian language: she was so engrossed by her passion for her lover, that she made herself always be called “*The Nina of Dante.*”

Brunetto Latini was the most eminent rhetorician and grammarian of his time: his most celebrated work was his *Tresor*, which was a sort of encyclopedia,²⁵ consisting of an abridgment of the

²⁴ Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie.

²⁵ Do.

Bible, of Pliny the naturalist, of Solinus, and some other scientific authors; it was divided into three parts, and each part into several books. The five books of the first part contained the history of the Old and New Testament; a description of the heavens and of the elements; the geography of the earth, and the history of the animals it produces. The second part consisted but of two books which contained the ethics of Aristotle, and a treatise on virtue and vice. The third part was also divided into two books, treating of eloquence and of the art of governing a republic—an art which no doubt Brunetto thought was ill understood in his time, as he had been obliged to seek refuge in France from the contending factions which afflicted his native city, Florence. It is a remarkable circumstance, that this primitive encyclopedia is written in French, because, says Brunetto, “*it is the most delectable language, and most common to every nation.*”²⁶

²⁶ “*Et se aucuns demandoit pourquoi chis livre est escrit en roumans selon la raison de France pour chou que nous sommes ytalien, je diroie que ch'est pour chou que nous sommes en France, l'autre pour chou que la parleare en est plus délitale et plus commune à toute gens.*”

Martin Canali, an Italian monk, translated the history of Venice into French, in 1270, from the ancient Latin chronicles, for the same reason—“*Parce que la langue Française cort le monde, et est la plus délitale à lire et à oïr que nulle autre.*”—*Cingucné Hist. Litt.*

De Joinville's Memoirs of St. Louis were written about this

After all that has been written on the causes of the universality of the French language in preference to the Italian, it is perhaps principally owing to the single circumstance of its admitting of little inversion, and therefore carrying the mind easily on along with it, without the painful effort of straining back to keep some idea in view, which has passed by in the flow of the words, but which cannot be fully comprehended until connected with something which is yet to come.

The inflections of the learned languages, by giving timely notice of the order of construction, render this an effort of less difficulty. But the Italian language possesses not this advantage; and the license of transposition has been so much abused by the secondary writers of Italy, that in reading their forced inversions, a foreigner feels not unlike one swimming against a current to attain a particular point, the labour of whose efforts are in exact proportion to the swiftness with which the stream glides by him.

As the French and English languages began to be used in composition much about the same period as the Italian, their more gradual formation

period, and were dedicated to Louis X, in 1315. This work was followed by the *Chronicles of Froissart*. In the reign of Francis I, De Joinville's *Memoirs* were *translated* into the French of that period.

Latin was used throughout Europe as the medium of all serious concerns long after works of amusement were written in the vernacular tongues.

is partly to be attributed to a more gradual succession of great writers continued in England at least to this day; whilst in Italy, nature, acting the prodigal, dispensed her riches at first with lavish profusion, remaining ever after comparatively poor; and thus what is in one point of view the boast of Italy, is also in another her reproach; for every considerable addition to the literature of a country must necessarily produce some modification of its language. Thus, while the literature of England is every ten or twenty years producing new models of varying excellence in style, her language is also continually changing, whilst the Italian, stationary from the time of Boccaccio, can only recount the same forty or fifty great names from one century to another.²⁷

We may compare thought and language to soul and body—the first is immortal and unchangeable, but the latter owns the influence of time in every stage. The identity and frequent recurrence of almost all that is wise and just in thought, from age to age, from ancient to modern times, must strike every reflecting reader. We sometimes

²⁷ Italian purists, of late years, have begun to complain of the introduction of gallicisms into their idiom; but this adulteration of their beautiful language is coeval with a new harvest of excellent writers. The wheat and the tares spring up together, but the latter are easily eradicated when the former has attained maturity.

smile at the maxims of the sage, written in an obsolete dialect, and think we possess within ourselves his wisdom, and something more; whilst, in truth, it is but the expression which has changed. We almost realize the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls as often as, by translation, we embody the mind of distant ages in the language of the present. The ideas of our ancestors thus recovering the brightness of youth, seem but the brothers of our own, though we still involuntarily yield to them all the privileges of primogeniture.

The *Tresor* of the Italian grammarian, which has given rise to a digression in some degree foreign to the subject, was written in the prose of the langue d'ouï, and has been generally considered to have been a sort of amplification of the treasure of the troubadour Corbian, in the poetry of the rival dialect of the langue d'oc. The title of Brunetto Latini to the name of *poet* is founded on his *Tesoretto*, which some have supposed to have suggested to Dante the idea of his *Inferno*; ²⁸ and his strongest claim on the gratitude of posterity is his able and zealous cultivation of his illustrious pupil's faculties from their earliest dawn.²⁹ He happened to be at Florence at the period of the birth of the immortal Dante Alighieri, and being eminent as an astrologer, was employed by his parents to draw his horoscope, and foretold for

²⁸ See *Appendix*, No. X.

²⁹ Tiraboschi.

the new-born babe a glorious career in literature and science. Dante early lost his father, but his mother Bella, as the astrologer's prediction was confirmed by the fond dreams of maternal love previous to the birth of her child, took the utmost care of his education, and gave him Brunetto as a preceptor, who, by carefully imparting to him his own knowledge in grammar, philosophy, theology, and political science, contributed not a little to the fulfilment of his astrological prediction.³⁰ Hence it happened that Dante, like our own

³⁰ Dante most feelingly expresses his gratitude to Brunetto in the following lines—

“ Or m'accora

La cara buona imagine paterna

Di voi, quando nel mondo, ad ora ad ora,

M' insegnavate come l'uom s'eterna,

E quanto io l'abbo in grado mentr' io vivo

Convien che nella mia lingua si scerna.”

Inferno, Canto 15.

Whenever Dante wishes to describe the celestial benignity of the beatified Beatrice, he draws some exquisite picture of maternal love. His filial piety was the most tender sentiment of his nature. The following lines must speak to every mother's heart—

“ Astounded, to the guardian of my steps,

I turn'd me, like the child who always runs

Thither for succour where he trusteth most.

And she was like the mother, who her son

Beholding pale and breathless, with her voice

Soothes him, and he is cheer'd.”

Cary's Translation, Paradise, Canto 22.

In this passage the English poet is fully equal to the original.

Milton, to whom he has often been compared, was one of the most erudite of poets. He, however, cultivated not only the abstruser sciences, but the fine arts, in his youth, particularly music and painting, and was also remarkable for the beauty of his hand-writing. These various tastes led him to cultivate the friendship of the poets, painters, and musicians of Florence; he was equally intimate with the poet Guido Cavalcanti, the painter Giotto, and the musician Casella. One of his favourite amusements was, to take part as a performer in the private concerts of the musicians of his native city. Perhaps the utmost effort of their skill would not have afforded much delight to the fastidious ears of a modern amateur, though the science of music had made some progress since the invention of the modern system of notation in the eleventh century by Guido Aretini.

Every citizen of Florence who aspired to public offices was obliged to inscribe his name on the register of some one of the arts or trades into which its citizens were divided: these were at first fourteen, but were afterwards increased to twenty-one, and were divided into major and minor. That of Dante, though born of a rich and noble family, is found in the fourth in order of the major class, namely, in that of physicians and pharmacopœists, and he is said to have possessed some knowledge of medicine.³¹

³¹ This law was instituted to humble the pride of the nobles,

When but nine years old, Dante first saw Beatrice, the daughter of Folco Polinari, at a family festival ; and from that early age cherished a passion for her which terminated only with his life ; but her death taking place when he had attained his twenty-fifth year, he vainly endeavoured, in the following year, to console himself for her loss by a marriage with Gemma Donati, a lady of that powerful family which was at the head of one of the subdivisions of the Guelph party, under the appellation of the Donati or the Neri ; whilst Dante himself was inclined to the opposite faction of the Cerchi or Bianchi. This marriage was an unhappy one ; party spirit might, perhaps, in the first instance have engendered matrimonial discord ; Gemma was not remarkable for a meek temper, and Dante's exalted imagination was, perhaps, too much inflamed by the perfections of a dead mistress, easily to pardon the faults of a living wife. From the circumstance of his having called his only daughter after that Beatrice, whose name he has immortalized in his works, we may naturally conclude that his avowed

who, though not exercising any art or trade, were obliged to enroll their names, and rank with those who did. From these classes the governors of Florence were chosen, under the name of Prior, taken, says Villani, from the Evangelist, "*Vos estis priores*," that is, "you shall be elected from amongst others." The first six of the major arts were merchants, bankers, woollen-drapers, physicians and apothecaries, furriers, and the tanners."—*Villani*, A. D. 1282.

adoration of her memory, could not but be wounding to the pride, if not to the affection, of his high-born spouse; whilst, on the other hand, her errors served not a little to give strength and duration to his regrets for the loss of the object of his early passion.

Ten years after this luckless marriage, Dante was elected one of the priors of Florence, having previously served the Guelph party both in arms and in various embassies to the different states of Italy. Florence was at this period distracted by the contentions of the Bianchi and Neri; and by the advice of Dante, the chiefs of both factions were exiled; but whilst he was absent on a mission of importance to pope Boniface VIII, the latter found means to effect their return, and in revenge excited the populace to pillage and raze his house and devastate his lands. This first blow having been struck, further injury was easily effected. His enemies proceeded to accuse him of malversation in his office, condemned him unheard to banishment, and mulcted him in a fine which being unable to pay, his remaining property was confiscated. But even exile and ruin did not satisfy the rancour of party-spirit; a second sentence was immediately passed, by which he and his adherents were condemned to be burned alive!

His wife, however, with her five children, continued to live at Florence under the protection of her own family and faction, the Donati or Neri.

Dante, at the head of the opposite party, made one unavailing attempt to return to Florence by force of arms, after which he took refuge from the malice of his fellow-citizens at several of the small courts of Italy in succession, amongst others at Verona, where the Scaligeri held their court, and gave refuge to the distinguished men of all parties, whom civil dissensions banished from their native homes. “The illustrious exiles found here not merely an asylum, but all the enjoyments of life. They were magnificently lodged, attended by servants appropriated to their own service, were admitted to the table of the princes, or were served in their own apartments, at pleasure. Musicians, buffoons, and jongleurs, were retained for their amusement, and their chambers were adorned with paintings and devices analogous to the situation of the guests—Victory for the warlike, Hope for exiles, the Bowers of the Muses for poets, Mercury for artists, and Paradise for divines.”³² Here Dante received the most flattering reception; but his manners, though grave and dignified, possessed too much of the proud independence of a free, and, it may be, somewhat turbulent citizen, too much cynical contempt for mankind in general, combined with a portion of that acerbity naturally engendered by undeserved persecution, to fit him long to breathe the atmosphere of a court. One of the

³² Ginguéné.

princes asked him one day, "why most people found a silly buffoon more agreeable than himself, who had so much knowledge and genius." "There is nothing astonishing in that," replied Dante, without hesitation, "since it is sympathy of character which causes friendship."

With a prudence rare amongst poets he, however, retired from the court of Verona without any open rupture; and continuing his regard for one of the Scaligers called Can Grande, dedicated to him the second part of his great poem, as he had dedicated the first to a former protector, the marquis of Malaspina. After leaving Verona, Dante visited the universities of Bologna, Paris, and various other seats of learning, where he distinguished himself as a disputant in theology and philosophy; as he was not only a profound scholar, an acute logician, but an eloquent orator, he was peculiarly qualified to excel in these learned combats, which were as much the delight of the erudite doctors, as the tilted field was of the valiant knights of his time.³³

On his return from France, Dante visited sometimes one petty Italian court, sometimes another, but found his last and happiest residence at Ravenna with Guido Novello Polenta. Here he enjoyed real repose, and became the friend rather than the dependant of his enlightened and virtuous protector. But this felicity did not last long;

³³ Villani.

failing in an important embassy to procure peace with the Venetians, the grief of having been unable to serve his friend and benefactor, preyed on his mind, and so seriously affected him, that he died soon after at the age of fifty-six.³⁴ Guido Novello performed his obsequies with great magnificence, pronounced his eulogium in his own palace, and interred his remains before the gate of the church of the Minor Friars at Ravenna habited in the “*garb of a poet and philosopher.*” After his death, the citizens of Florence, desirous of possessing the sacred relics of the great poet they had expelled and despoiled while living, made many vain overtures to the inhabitants of Ravenna to give them up, but the spirit of Dante seemed to speak from his tomb, and to exclaim with the indignation of the hero of ancient Rome, “*Ungrateful country, my bones shall not rest with thee.*”

Dante was of the middle stature, of a grave and dignified air, the contour of his face long, his complexion brown, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes prominent and full of fire and expression, his under lip projecting, his hair and beard black, thick, and curled. He had habitually a melancholy and thoughtful air. One day at Verona, when his *Inferno* had acquired much reputation, he happened to pass by a house at the door of which some women were seated—“*Do you see that*

³⁴ Villani, 14 Sept. 1321.

man," said one of them to the rest in a low voice, "that is he who goes down into hell and comes back again whenever he likes, and brings up to the earth news of those who abide there below."

*"What you say is true enough," replied her companion, "Don't you see how brown his complexion is, and how his beard is curled up!—it must be the smoke and the heat there below that occasions it."*³⁵

Dante, amused and gratified at the effect his powerful genius had produced on the imaginations of the lower order, smiled at the simplicity of the women, and passed on. This great poet studied much, and spoke little, but his replies were pointed and acute. He was not unfrequently subject to fits of absence: having found, by chance, in an apothecary's shop at Vienna, a book he had long been in search of, he began to read it with such avidity, that he remained motionless on the same spot from morning till evening in the open shop, undisturbed by the noise and bustle of a marriage procession, which passed close by him.

³⁵ The *Inferno* of Dante seems to have possessed peculiar charms for the lower order of Tuscaus; the stories commonly told of the author's inflicting personal chastisement on the smith and the mule-driver, who mangled his verses whilst repeating them at their ordinary labours, show, at least, that they were well known to the labouring class; and we can scarcely comprehend how such superior cultivation of mind could exist amongst them: it was certainly unparalleled in any other country of Europe at this period.

The *Divina Commedia*, which has given Dante the first rank amongst Italian poets, is too well known in this country through the medium of a late excellent translation, to require or admit of comment here. This great work, destined to perpetuate the name of Beatrice, was preceded by a composition in prose entitled "*Vita Nuova*," in which he relates all the circumstances of his passion, and introduces his early poetry as the circumstances arise which occasioned it. The canzonets of Dante, twenty in number, would constitute him the best poet of his day, if he had never produced any thing superior. One in particular, on the death of Beatrice, deserves to be remarked as having been closely imitated by Petrarch.³⁶ He wrote also, in the vulgar tongue,

³⁶ DANTE.

Oimè lasso, quelle trecce bionde,
 Dalle quali rilucieno
 D'aureo color gli poggi d'ogni interno ;
 Oimè, la bella cera, e le dolci onde
 Che nel cor mi sidieno
 Di quei begli occhi, al ben segnato giorno,
 Oimè, il fresco ed adorno
 E rilucente viso,
 Oimè lo dolce riso, &c.

PETRARCH.

Oimè il bel viso, oimè il soave sguardo,
 Oimè il leggiadro portamento altero,
 Oimè 'l parlar ch'ogni aspro ingegno e fero
 Faceva humile, e d'ogni huom'vil gagliardo,
 Ed c'm' il dolce riso, &c.

Notes to Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie

the *Convito*, a commentary on his own canzonets, in which he displays his knowledge of the Platonic philosophy, and of the astronomy and other sciences of his times, according to the formula then adopted in school learning. This was the last of his works, and he had only arrived at the third of his poems, when he was arrested by the hand of death. In Latin he wrote three celebrated Epistles, the first to his native city, complaining of his unjust exile, the second to the emperor Henry of Luxemburg, and the third to the Sacred College, after the death of Pope Clement V, exhorting the cardinals to elect an Italian pope; a treatise on the literature of the Italian language, entitled *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and another on the universal monarchy claimed by the German emperors as the successors of the Cæsars. This latter work, though forgotten in our days, was so much esteemed in the fourteenth century, that after the death of Dante the anti-pope, established by Louis of Bavaria, sustained from it the validity of his election, and the legate of pope John XXII demanded that the bones of its author should be dug up and burned.

“Dante,” says Villani, “was, on account of his learning, somewhat presumptuous, reserved, and disdainful, and according to the mode of philosophers, rather ungracious, not well knowing how to accommodate his conversation to the unlearned; but if we take into account his other

virtues, and his learning, genius, and worth, we shall find him so illustrious a citizen, as to confess it is fitting that *we should give him perpetual memory in this our chronicle!* since his noble works, left to us in writing, bear true testimony to him, and bestow an honourable reputation on our city.”

How would the spirit of the scornful Dante have smiled at the perpetual memory to be bestowed on *him* by the Chronicles of Villani! But the ten or fifteen years which had elapsed between his death and the writing of the above passage, had not taught his fellow citizens to estimate duly the mighty powers of his mind. The estimable and faithful, but weak-minded annalist, was totally incapable of such a stretch of the understanding, that was only to be accomplished by a genius scarcely inferior—the no less celebrated Boccaccio, who first comprehended all the sublimity of Dante, and excited in his compatriots, that enthusiasm of admiration which became almost an adoration of his name.

CHAP. III.

The Duke of Calabria called to the Government of Florence—His Virtues—His Entry into Florence—His Administration—Death of Cecco d'Ascoli, the Astrologer—Return of the Duke to Naples—Birth of his Daughter, Joanna—Ceremonies observed at a Royal Birth—Costume—Philippa, the Catanian—The Duke of Calabria founds the Monastery of San Martino—His death—Birth of the Princess Maria, and death of the Duchess of Calabria.

THE civil dissensions which had caused the exile of Dante, continuing to rage with unabated fury, the magistrates and principal citizens of Florence, four years after his death, sent an embassy to Robert of Naples, to offer the government of their state to his son Charles, duke of Calabria, in hopes that his authority would compel the rival factions to preserve peace within the walls of the city, and his assistance in arms protect the community against the aggressions of those feudal princes commonly designated under the general appellation of the tyrants of Lombardy, as well as against the continual inroads of the imperial forces under the command of Castuccio Castracani. Robert had been similarly honoured by the Florentines during the life of his father Charles II, and was probably the only

prince of the age in whom such confidence could have been safely placed. The Genoese had, at a former period, reposed the same confidence in his wisdom and integrity. He had governed Genoa in person or by deputy for a term of eighteen years; had exercised his authority equitably, and had resigned it voluntarily, at the expiration of the stipulated time.

The duke of Calabria did not possess either the deep learning or martial abilities of his father, but more closely resembling his grandfather Charles II, was distinguished for all the pacific virtues; his justice especially was proverbial, and when the historians of Naples have said that his daughter Joanna was “*similar to her father in justice*,” they think they have bestowed the utmost meed of praise. Robert had, from his earliest youth, entrusted his son with the interior government of the kingdom of Naples; the slight difference of but nineteen years in their ages, had permitted him to make the duke of Calabria his friend, companion, and counsellor: glorying in his virtues, he felt none of that jealousy of a successor which has made many a royal heart the uneasy abode of the worst passion; whilst the duke, on his part, religiously impressed with the reverence due from him in his double relation of son and vassal, felt no aspiring longings for the possession of that authority to which he was the first

¹ Giannone, Costanzo.

to render implicit obedience. The historian Costanzo relates, that even in his time, when the sceptre of Naples had passed to another race, the Neapolitans loved to dwell with fond regret on the virtues of the duke of Calabria, and records two anecdotes of him which had been transmitted orally from generation to generation. These have been assigned to other princes; and, perhaps, with a slight variation of circumstances, the chief incidents have happened to more than one.

It was the custom of the duke of Calabria, yearly to make the circuit of his government, in order to discover and remedy the oppressions committed by the great barons and ministers of state on the inferior orders. In passing through the lands of a certain count, he was informed that he had forcibly deprived one of his vassals of his possessions, in order to make his residence in a spot peculiarly delightful. Though the injured vassal had not dared to complain, Charles sent for the count, and praising the enchanting prospects and balmy air of his domains, commanded him as his lord, and requested him as his friend, to resign them to him as the intended site of a royal palace and chase, promising to give their utmost value in return. The count angrily replied, that he would not sell possessions which had descended to him from a long line of ancestry, but that the duke might take them by force if he chose, which he could not believe he would, being a prince whose

fame had never been sullied by an unjust action. “You now,” said the duke, “understand what is just, which you should have known before, therefore instantly restore the lands of your own vassal, or I will take your head and your lands too.” The disgraced count immediately made the required restitution. When the duke had completed his annual progress through the kingdom, he fixed his residence at Naples, and at stated hours daily administered justice in the palace of justice built by his grandfather in front of Castel Nuovo, on the spot where now stands the church of the Incoronata, erected by his daughter Joanna.—Lest the attendant menials should forbid the entrance of the poor, he had a large bell placed before the outer door, the sound of which could not fail to reach his ear. It happened one day that an old horse belonging to a Neapolitan knight called Marco Capece, strayed that way, and rubbing himself against the wall where hung the cord of the bell, caused it to ring. At the well-known sound, the duke ordered the porter to bring in the complainant. The whole court was convulsed with laughter when, on re-entering, he informed him it was Marco Capece’s horse! But Charles, observing that perfect justice should be rendered even to the brute-race, ordered Capece to be brought before him, and asked him why his horse was permitted to roam at large through the city?

Marco replied, that the horse had once been a noble steed, but being now old and useless, he no longer wished to incur the expense of maintaining him. The duke, remembering that the veteran knight had been amply rewarded for the services he had rendered to the king in his youth, sharply rebuked him for his ingratitude to his faithful servant, the companion of his latest toils, and commanded him, under penalty of forfeiting his bounty, to give him a share of those rewards he had assisted him to gain. The horse, says tradition, was taken home by his master, now awakened to a sense of his ingratitude, and was kindly treated during the remnant of his age.

On the 31st of May, 1326, the duke and duchess of Calabria, accompanied by the brothers of the king, by sixteen of the great barons of Naples, amongst whom was the count of Minervino, who acted so conspicuous a part in the reign of Joanna, and “*two hundred other knights with golden spurs*,” left Naples for Florence, which Charles had agreed to govern for ten years, according to the local laws and customs. He was to maintain, at least, a thousand *Ultramontane* lances in the service of the commune²—was to

² Each lance was counted at four or six men, from the number of squires who attended the knight in battle; these were not permitted to join in the combat further than to parry the blows aimed at their master; their office was, to supply him with arms, to take charge of prisoners, or to carry their lord off the field when desperately wounded.—*St. Palaye*.

receive, for the expenses of his court, at the rate of two hundred thousand florins (or ducats) of gold, to be raised monthly on the customs of the city, and was to have two months revenue allowed him for the expenses of his journey thither and his return to Naples.³ It was admissible for him to leave Florence at his own pleasure or convenience, on appointing a lieutenant in his absence, who was to maintain four hundred Ultramontane cavaliers, and to receive one hundred thousand florins annually. From the express stipulation in this treaty, on the part of the Florentines, for Ultramontane knights to be employed in their defence, it would appear, that the reputation of the Provençals for valour exceeded that of the Neapolitans, and certainly the kingdom of Naples never was, either comparatively or positively, so powerful as when governed by the lords of Provence.

The wives of the princes of the blood, of the sixteen great barons, and of the *two hundred knights with the golden spurs*,⁴ followed with their children in the suite of Maria of Valois, the duchess of Calabria. Ladies of rank, when performing a distant journey, travelled either in litters carried by mules, or in vehicles covered with cloth of gold, velvet, or other costly stuffs, which were dignified with the name of chariots, but which were certainly not comparable, either

³ Villani.

⁴ Costanzo.

in neatness or ease of motion, to the market cart of the modern English farmer's dame.

This cavalcade is said to have been one of the most splendid which had traversed Italy since the fall of the empire.⁵ The ladies, on palfreys, or in litters, or carriages covered with the gayest and richest colours and materials, were habited in robes and mantles of cloth of gold or silver, velvet, or silk, of crimson, purple, or green, according to their rank. Both sexes wore, in travelling, large hoods of silk embroidered with various devices and grotesque figures of men and animals. These were fastened under the chin with a gold, or jewelled, clasp, and terminated behind in long points, which hung as low as the ground. The horses were richly caparisoned with gold, and were covered with housings emblazoned with the armorial bearings of the riders. Over their brilliant armour, the knights and princes wore surcoats, some of cloth of gold of different colours, of which crimson was the most noble, and peculiarly appropriate to knighthood, with doublings of ermine, vair, or petit gris, and with their arms emblazoned on the breast and back, on a square piece of silk; others wore cloth, or silk, embroidered with their arms throughout. The surcoats and mantles of the royal family of Naples were azure or violet, embroidered with lilies of gold, which in the dresses worn on occa-

⁵ Costanzo.

sions of peculiar magnificence, were edged or seeded with pearls, each fleur-de-lis being surmounted with the label gules of the Angevine race.⁶ Each knight was accompanied by, at least, three squires, to whose apparel, cloth of silver, the inferior furs, and silver spurs and ornaments, were appropriated. One carried his master's arms, a second his helmet raised on the pommel of the saddle, and a third led his dexter or war-horse, covered with rich housings. The number and

⁶ The label, which is the noblest of rebatements and peculiar to the younger branches of a *royal house*, was derived from the silk scarf which a prince (in the life-time of his father) wore wrapped about his neck over his surcoat, to distinguish him from his parent, as their armorial bearings were the same. The armorial ensign of France, now called the *lily*, was anciently, according to the testimony of the best writers, the head of a javelin. Villani calls the French arms *fioralliso* (fleur-de-lis), which the Milan editor of 1802 says, differs from the *modern lilies* of France; at this period it appears that the arms of France were supposed to be the common fleur-de-lis, or iris of our gardens, which the shape strongly resembles; and the idea was probably suggested by the colours of the armorial bearings. The javelin-head being *or* on a field *azure*, which in mantles and surcoats was as often violet or purple, it was not unlike the brilliant corolla of the iris or fleur-de-lis; the name next suggested the idea of the purer lily, which is always drawn in the pictures of the Virgin. Charlemagne bore the shield *azure*, charged with the black eagle and the fleur-de-lis *or*; other more ancient kings of France bore the shield *azure*, with stars *or*. In the fourteenth century *azure* and *or* were the colours of the house of France in all its branches.

beauty of the led horses,⁷ which followed in the train of the duke of Calabria in his progress to Florence, was considered the most magnificent part of the spectacle.⁸ The sumpter mules of the titled lords, with bells and emblazoned coverings, amounted to fifteen hundred; and the beasts of burden carrying the baggage of the knights-bachelors, and common or foot soldiers were, says Costanzo, almost numberless.

When the duke arrived at Sienna, he found that city, like Florence, afflicted by intestine divisions, and by the desire of the Siennese he undertook the government of their state for five years. For eighteen days he was delayed at Sienna, settling the disputes of the citizens; and left it at last with a threat to return with his whole force to chastise whichever of the contending factions should first take up arms, a menace which proved effectual for the maintenance of peace.

On the 31st of July he arrived at Florence, at noon: "and if his journey had been marked by

⁷ Costanzo.

⁸ St. Palaye observes, that to carry the arms on high was considered graceful; and hence the customary phrase of carrying things "with a high hand." He also observes, that "riding the high horse" is likewise derived from the war-horses or *dexters* appropriated to knights alone in battle. On marches they rode coursers or roadsters. A knight who was ever seen on a *mare*, was degraded from his rank, as these were reserved for the purposes of agriculture.

splendor, not less pompous was his entry into this generous and beautiful city." The noble ladies and knights, arrayed in their richest robes and surcoats, exchanged their large silk travelling hoods for coronets of gold and gems, or chaplets of pearls, and completed the splendor of their attire with precious girdles and collars. The duke of Athens,⁹ who had been sent from Naples to take the government of Florence previous to the arrival of the great duke (as Villani calls Charles of Calabria), came out to meet him at the head of a magnificent cavalcade of four hundred knights whom he had brought from Naples, and a large number of others who had lately arrived from Provence and Piedmont, followed by the Florentine bands, divided into companies.

⁹ The duke of Athens recals the idea of Boccaccio; and of Chaucer, who derived from him his tale, in which "*Theseus, duke of Athens*," is an actor. The brothers and nephews of Robert of Naples endeavoured to establish themselves in Greece by force of arms; and at various times made some conquests, from which, and inefficient claims by marriage, they derived various titles—as, Duke of Athens, Prince of the Morea, Duke of Durazzo. Philip, the second brother of Robert, was styled Prince of Achaia, Despot of Romania, and Emperor of Constantinople; which latter title he derived from his marriage with Margaret of Valois, daughter of Catharine de Courtenai, heiress of Baldwin IV. Her sister Maria of Valois married the duke of Calabria, and was, with Philip of Valois, king of France, the offspring of the marriage of Charles of Valois with Margaret, daughter of Charles II, who brought back Anjou and Maine, as a dower, to the House of France.

Next in order were the standard-bearers of the officers of justice, then succeeded the twenty-one priors with their banners, each at the head of his respective art or trade, habited in their own peculiar liveries;¹⁰ these were contrasted by a troop of the elect of the noble youth of the city, not yet arrived at manhood, gaily and fancifully dressed in various fashions; a motley crowd of the lower order in holiday garments, rending the air with the name of the duke of Calabria, closed the procession. The streets were strewed with flowers, and all the most remarkable parts of the town were adorned with triumphal arches and other embellishments. The duke and duchess were conducted under a canopy of state, of cloth of gold, to the palace of the Commune, which the priors had resigned for their residence. Here the duchess and the Neapolitan ladies were received by the chief of the fair and noble dames of Florence, and for several days festivals and balls were given to welcome the distinguished strangers.

Soon after the arrival of the duke of Calabria, the factious amongst the citizens of Florence, finding their power at an end under his just, though mild, government, endeavoured to render him unpopular by an insidious proposal to bestow on him the government of the state for life, uncontrolled by any limitations to his authority.¹¹

¹⁰ Costanzo.¹¹ Villani.

But this equitable and religious prince, with that true wisdom which probity alone inspires, refused to permit any change to be made in the conditions on which he had accepted the government of the state, and thus defeated the machinations of the evil-disposed. The first year of his administration passed unmarked by any other event worthy of notice; but the second was rendered memorable in the annals of literature by the horrible death of the celebrated grammarian and astrologer, Cecco d'Ascoli, the early preceptor of Petrarch.

At this period an astrologer was deemed indispensable to the establishment of every prince, and was invariably consulted as to the fortunate moment for commencing all undertakings of importance in peace or war. Cecco d'Ascoli filled this office at the Florentine court of the duke of Calabria; but in the second year of his government was dismissed by the bishop of Aversa, the confessor of the duke, as a heretic, whom it was a disgrace to any Christian prince to harbour; but not, however, until after "he had, by the science of astrology or necromancy," says Villani, "predicted many things of the actions of Louis of Bavaria, Castruccio Castracani, and the duke himself, which in the sequel proved true." The accusation of heresy, which ultimately proved fatal to the unfortunate Cecco, arose from a malicious commentary, published by the celebrated

physician Dino, on a work, that he had written at Bologna, on the Sphere ; in which he affirmed that “ *there dwelt demons in the stars, who, under certain constellations, might, by the force of incantations, be constrained to work miracles. He further maintained, that necessity arises from the influence of the stars, and reconciling this necessity with the will of God, he asserted that Christ coming on earth, was obliged by his nativity to live in wretchedness with his disciples, and to die that death he did.*”¹²

This was the excuse for the persecution of Cecco ; but the real cause of his tragical fate was, the envy of Dino, and the enemies he had made by some stupid satires on Dante Alighieri and others, in an absurd poem called the *Acerba*. On his expulsion from the household of the duke of Calabria, the malicious Dino revived a former charge of heresy to the Inquisition, and so effectually supported it, that the unhappy astrologer was condemned to be burned alive as a magician and heretic. This cruel sentence was executed on the 16th September, 1327. The populace flocked in crowds to the scene of his sufferings, in expectation of seeing the supposed sorcerer carried off by demons from the stake. When repentance was unavailing, all the horrors of remorse seized the envious Dino, and he died of a fever produced by the agonies of his mind, fifteen days

¹² Villani.

after the last sufferings of the unfortunate astrologer.

The death of Cecco d'Ascoli has by some writers been absurdly connected with the birth of Joanna of Sicily, the daughter and heiress of the duke of Calabria. It was customary, immediately on the birth of an infant of rank, to present it in helpless nakedness to the family astrologer, who, after examining the lincaments of the hands and face, withdrew to cast the nativity. It is said, that the duchess of Calabria commanded Cecco d'Ascoli to draw her horoscope with that of the infant of which she became the mother at Florence, and that he predicted that both would be distinguished for the immorality of their conduct, on which the duchess enraged at the double insult offered to herself and her child, expelled him from the palace.

The improbability of this story contradicts itself, and it is doubtless one of those fables invented by the aspersors of the queen of Naples, who, in default of more direct proof, have appealed even to the stars in support of their assertions! Tiraboschi dismisses it as a gross anachronism, because Dante Alighieri and the poet Calvalcanti, whom the relators of this story make to take part in the persecution of Cecco, were both dead some years before his execution; and he further adds, that there is reason to believe that the birth of Joanna did not take place till after the death of Cecco.

The child who was born to the duke of Calabria at Florence, was a prince,¹³ who died a few days after his public baptism, in the baptistery of St. John, where he was presented at the font by the syndics of the commune. Whatever was the date of Joanna's birth, she was certainly not born at Florence as is commonly supposed. On the 28th of the December following the birth of his son, the duke left Florence.

Rather calculated to conduct the internal administration of a state than its military enterprises, the duke of Calabria had, without any marked success, resisted the attacks of Castruccio Castracani on the Florentine territory, when his father, at the close of the year 1327, found it necessary to recall him to the defence of his paternal dominions, which were threatened with invasion by Louis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany, who, as successor of the Cæsars, had claimed the crown of Naples, and pronounced sentence of deposition against Robert.

On the 29th of December, therefore, the duke assembled the magistrates and chief citizens of Florence, and exposing to them the reasons

¹³ Nel detto anno 1327, a dì 13 d'Aprile nacque in Firenze uno figliuolo al duca di Calabria della sua donna, figliuola di messer Carlo di Valois di Francia e grande festa e armeggiare sene fece per li Fiorentini, ma all'ottava dì di sua natività si morì e seppelli a Santa Croce, onde grande cordoglio n'ebbe in Firenze.—*Villani*, lib. 10, cap. 21.

which had prompted his father to recall him to Naples, appointed governors during his absence, and promised to retain a thousand lances for their defence. This offer exceeded the terms of his engagement, which had only stipulated for four hundred knights during his absence; and excited the gratitude of the Florentines as the whole force of the kingdom of Naples was scarcely adequate to oppose the invasion of Louis of Bavaria. Though the duke of Calabria had not so effectually served the Florentines in arms as they had hoped, yet his rule had been so just and beneficent, he had so reformed the mal-administration of the city, and had so effectually quelled their civil dissensions, that they sincerely lamented his departure,¹⁴ and though the expenses of his government (or his wages as Villani unceremoniously calls them) had, in the seventeen months of his stay, cost the Commune four hundred thousand florins of gold, yet such was the benefit resulting to the traders and manufacturers of Florence from the number of noble families whom he had brought in his suite, that Villani, as a merchant, says, that the city on the whole gained considerably by his residence, even in a pecuniary point of view.¹⁵

¹⁴ Villani.

¹⁵ A ciò che fu proposto e detto per li savi del Duca, savamente e con belle arringharie fornite di molti autoritati, fue fatta la risposta per li Fiorentini per certi loro savi, mostrando doglia e pesanza di sua partita, &c.—*Villani*.

All arrivals and departures of royal personages were at this period celebrated by general festivals, and in particular by balls given to the fair sex. On Christmas-day, the duke gave a magnificent banquet to the chief citizens, followed by a ball given by the duchess to a great assemblage of ladies, which was succeeded by other splendid entertainments.¹⁶

¹⁶ The residence of the duchess of Calabria had been highly agreeable to the ladies of Florence, from the brilliancy of her court and the many splendid entertainments of which it had been the scene; nor had they neglected to profit by her mediation with the duke, to obtain some indulgences respecting their attire, which the prudence, good taste, or severity of their husbands had previously denied them. The sumptuary laws were a constant cause of contention between the two sexes; and Villani sets apart a chapter to record, that “*In the year 1326, in the month of December, the duke of Calabria, at the petition which the ladies of Florence made to the duchess his wife, restored to the said ladies a certain unbecoming and disreputable ornament of thick tresses of white and yellow silk which they wore about their faces instead of their hair. Which ornament, because displeasing to the Florentine men, and because it was disreputable and unnatural, they had forbidden to the ladies, and had made laws against this and other unreasonable ornaments as has been before mentioned; but thus, the unreasonable fancies of women conquer the wisdom and sense of men.*”

In 1330 these wise legislators enforced such strict sumptuary laws, that the goldsmiths and silk-mercers of Florence were ruined. The higher orders, and those who still persisted in wearing forbidden ornaments regardless of the cost, sent to *Brabant* and *Flanders* to procure them; the Florentines appointed foreign officers to enforce these regulations, and “men, women, and children used every art to evade them.”—*Villani*, lib. 10, 215.

On the 28th of the month they set out for Naples, escorted by a troop of fifteen hundred horse, at this period esteemed a considerable force. They halted for some time at Sienna, Perugia, and Riete, and on the 16th of January arrived at Aquila, on the frontiers of Naples, where the army of Robert was assembled for the approaching campaign against Louis of Bavaria.

The arms of the father and son were crowned with entire success in the arduous contest which shortly ensued. The Bavarian emperor was driven out of Rome, and the government bestowed on the king of Naples. The death of his great commander, Castruccio Castracani, rendering his cause hopeless in Italy, he retired to Germany, never again to cross the Alps; and the abdication of his antipope, Nicholas the Fifth, who submitted to the mercy of John XXII, proclaimed his defeat in an unequivocal manner to Europe at large.

Hitherto the public triumphs of Robert had been alloyed by the dread of seeing his race expire with his son. The duke of Calabria's first wife, Catherine of Austria, had brought him no children, and the son of Maria of Valois had died immediately on his birth. When, therefore, on her return from Florence, the duchess of Calabria became the mother of a child, whose healthy constitution promised length of days, the joy of the good king was unbounded. This child was the celebrated Joanna of Sicily, whose vicissitudes

of fortune occupy so large a portion of the history of the fourteenth century.¹⁷

¹⁷ It is necessary to state the grounds on which the birth of Joanna of Sicily is here placed in the beginning of the year 1328, according to our computation, or the end of 1327, according to that of her times. It is commonly stated to have taken place at Florence, after the arrival of her parents, who entered that city on the 31st of July, 1326; but this date is irreconcilable with the history of Villani. From that historian it appears that she could not have been born there in the year 1327. In the edition quoted by Tiraboschi, Villani states her to have been five years old, and Andrew of Hungary seven, in 1333. In speaking of the death of the duke of Calabria in the close of the year 1328, Villani says, he left two female children, *one born*, and another of which the duchess was pregnant—he would scarcely have expressed himself thus if the elder princess had been nearly three years old at this time, which she would have been on the supposition that she had been born before her parents went to Florence. Villani mentions all the members of the royal family, and the nobility who accompanied them to his native city, it is not probable therefore that he would have neglected to notice the infant princess. The duke of Calabria left Naples on the 31st of May, 1326; if we suppose Joanna was born previous to that date it will not be easy to account for the dates given by Muratori, Giannone, Costanzo, and Voltaire, &c. These writers, and all other historians state her to have been forty-six years of age at the period of her marriage with Otho of Brunswick; they place this event, it is true, in the year 1376, but that evidently arises from a mistake in transcribing the Roman figurès, and MCCCLXXVI should be MCCCLXXIV, as otherwise her birth would be placed in 1333, two years after the death of her father, though she had a younger sister. If she was forty-six in 1374, this date will agree with the edition of Villani, which

The domestic manners of the times, and the progress of the useful arts and manufactures, cannot be better illustrated than by a description

makes her five years old in 1333. Muratori and the writers above-mentioned, in speaking of the transaction of the first year of Joanna's reign, 1343, say, she was about sixteen—in those of the latter end of the year 1345, she is again stated to be about eighteen; in 1363 she is again spoken of as about 36, all of which dates prove that she could not have been born in 1326.

The dates of Muratori and the historians of Naples, place the birth of Joanna in 1327. According to the modern computation, which concludes the year in the month of December, this could scarcely be, as her brother was born on the 13th of the April of the same year, 1327; but at this period it was customary to begin the year on the 25th of March, so that the end of the year 1327, according to the chronicles of the 14th century, was the beginning of 1328, according to the modern style. From this circumstance, much of the confusion of the chronology of this period arises. Subsequent historians sometimes observing, and sometimes neglecting to allow for the change of style; for instance, the death of Robert of Naples is by some placed in January 1342; by others in January 1343, which is exactly the same period as the month of January was towards the close of the year 1343, according to the chroniclers of his time, and the beginning of 1342, according to modern historians. It is to be observed, that the Papal court commenced the year in January (or rather on the day of the Nativity instead of the day of the Annunciation according to the common custom), but its example was not followed in common life till the reign of Charles the Eighth of France; who commanded it in his dominions by a royal edict, when the example of France was followed by other nations. Time was further divided at this period into Cycles of 15 years to accommodate the lunar and

of the customary arrangements of the apartments of a princess on the birth of a child ; and they will therefore be here given with a minuteness which might appear frivolous but for this consideration.

These apartments consisted of three rooms in suite. *The chamber of parade*, that of the mother and that of the infant. The articles of furniture

solar months to each other, on account of the moveable festivals of the church. This was called the Indiction, and the year was marked, first, second, or third, &c. of the Indiction in addition to that of the Incarnation.

If we suppose Joanna to have been born at the close of the year 1327, according to the chronology of her times, or the beginning of 1328 according to ours, the seemingly irreconcilable dates given to the various transactions of her life will agree with each other. As in the year 1343, when she began to reign, she would be in the sixteenth year of her age ; in September 1345, far in the eighteenth ; in 1363 in the thirty-sixth ; in 1374 she was forty-six. It is acknowledged that Maria of Valois gave birth to a daughter at Naples immediately after her return from Florence. Bouche (who places the birth of Joanna at Florence in 1326) says, this princess died in infancy, we can hardly doubt from the expressions of Villani and the other circumstances above-stated, that this princess did not die in infancy, but was the celebrated Joanna herself. Her sister, Maria, has always been acknowledged to have been a posthumous child. Voltaire says, Joanna was driven into exile before the age of twenty ; this assertion tallies with her birth having taken place in February or March, 1328 ; as she fled from Naples, 13th January 1348, and had not then quite completed her twentieth year. Maimbourg, in relating the events of 1378, says, that thirty years before, when Joanna was but twenty, she sold Avignon ; and places 1348 in a marginal note, to put the date of the sale beyond doubt.

in these rooms were few in number, but splendid in their material. The chamber of parade contained only a buffet with long narrow shelves, of which our modern kitchen dresser is an exact copy in form ;—a bed never used, except to place the infant upon on the day of baptism ; and a single low chair with a cushion, *such as princesses were wont to sit on.*

This chamber, as we may suppose from the name, was adorned with the utmost magnificence the times could boast ; it was hung with crimson satin embroidered with gold ; the floor was entirely covered with crimson velvet ; and the curtains, tester, and coverlet of the bed, corresponded with the hangings of the walls. The single low chair was covered with crimson velvet, and contained a cushion of cloth of gold ; a similar cushion lay on the bolster of the bed. The buffet stood under a canopy of crimson cloth of gold, its long narrow shelves were covered with napkins of fine white linen, on which stood flagons, cups, and vases of gold and silver plate.

This apartment, resplendent with crimson and gold, and fine linen, led into that of the mother, which was entirely hung with white figured satin. It is doubtful whether modern luxury could exceed the simple splendor of the one, or the chaste elegance of the other.

This interior apartment contained rather more

furniture than the exterior, having two beds, a couch on rollers, a buffet, a small table, and a single high-backed chair. The walls were hung with white figured silk damask; a traversaine or curtain of white figured satin, bordered with silk fringe, hung across the entrance; two others of the same description were festooned up at the upper end of the chamber in the day-time, but running on rings, were drawn at night, so as to enclose the space which contained the two beds on a line with each other, about five feet apart. These two beds, and the space between, were covered with one tester of white silk damask, with valances of the same white satin and silk fringes as the traversaines, a curtain similar to which was drawn up at the head of the alley between the two beds, under which stood the high-backed chair of state, covered with crimson cloth of gold, with a cushion of the same material. The coverlets of the beds were of ermine, on a ground of violet cloth, which appeared "*three-quarters of a yard*" below the ermine all round, and hung down the sides of the bed a yard and half, below which again appeared sheets of fine cambric,¹⁸ starched clear. The couch on rollers

¹⁸ "Crespe empesé," gaze ou toile fine comme mousseline, says St. Palaye, in a marginal note to the Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry, from which this account is extracted. Froissart speaks of the litters in which ladies were carried being covered with clear crape of silk, through which they might be seen.

was hung and furnished with cushions and coverlets, similar to those of the beds, and commonly stood under a square canopy of crimson cloth of gold, terminating in a point at top. The floor was entirely covered with a carpet of velvet.

But the principal ornament of this apartment was the great buffet which stood under a canopy of crimson cloth of gold, with a border of black velvet embroidered in gold, with the arms of the parents. The number of the shelves of this buffet marked in a conspicuous manner the rank of the parents of the new-born babe. Two were appropriated to the wife of a banneret, three to a countess, four to the consort of a reigning duke or prince, and five to a queen. On these shelves, covered with white napkins, were ranged “vessels of crystal, garnished with gold and jewels, basins and cups of wrought gold and silver, never used on any other occasion,” and all the most magnificent plate the banneret, count, duke, or king, possessed.

At each end of the buffet stood massy candlesticks of gold, with wax tapers, which were lighted “*when visitors entered* ;” two other lights stood before the buffet, and were kept constantly burning, night and day, as even in summer the day-light was excluded for fifteen days, in conformity to etiquette. On the buffet were placed three *dragcoirs* (confection-boxes) of gold, orna-

mented with jewels, each rolled in a fine napkin, and at the side stood the low table, on which were placed the gold and silver cups, in which spiced wines were served, after confections had been presented from the buffet. The chamber of the new-born babe was arranged much in the same manner, except that the hangings were of silk of an inferior quality.

On the birth of Charles the Seventh of France, his mother hung her apartments with green, which then became the colour appropriated to queens alone ; but previous to that period, princesses, with better taste, had adopted that colour which is emblematic of infant innocence.

On the day of baptism, preparatory to total immersion at the font, the infant was laid on the bed of the chamber of parade enveloped in a mantle of cloth of gold, lined with ermine, but otherwise quite naked. A *couvre-chef*, or wrapping quilt of violet silk, covered the head, and hung down over the mantle. All who took part in the ceremony assembled in the chamber of parade. The child was carried by the most illustrious of its female relatives, and the cumbrous mantle was borne up by the next in rank.

The bearer of the infant was supported by the most exalted of its male relatives, followed by three others carrying wax tapers, a covered goblet containing salt, and two gold basins (the one covering the other) containing rose water

for the font. Before these royal personages walked a long line of torch-bearers, two and two ; others were stationed on each side of the space the procession was to pass, from the palace or castle, up to the font of the baptistery. The streets, the body of the church, and the font, were hung with tapestry, silk, or cloth of gold ; and a splendid bed, richly draped in front of the choir of the church, marked the highest rank. As soon as the ceremony of baptism was concluded, the sponsors and their attendants assembled in the apartment of the mother, when the infant was laid beside her. A matron of royal birth presented the drageoir or confection-box to her immediate superior, and was followed by another bearing the spiced wines (hypocras or pimento). A less noble matron served those who held the rank of princes of the second degree, that is, counts or barons, lords of fiefs ; whilst those still inferior, as simple knights not bannerets, or the minor officers of the household, were served by an unmarried lady of gentle blood.

On common occasions, the office of serving guests was performed by the gallantry of the men ; but it was the peculiar privilege of the female sex to dispense the refreshments which were offered to all who entered the natal apartments for the space of a month. When the period arrived for the mother to appear again in public, she was placed at the side of the bed in the

chamber of ceremony, habited in her most sumptuous robes, and was conducted by princes and knights to the church, preceded by minstrels and trumpets, as when espoused. At the altar she presented three gifts borne by three noble ladies of her suite—a candle, with a piece of gold inclosed, a loaf of bread rolled up in a napkin, and a cup filled with wine. The attendant ladies kissed these offerings as they delivered them to the princess, and she kissed the patina each time the priest presented it to receive them, it being esteemed a mark of respect to kiss whatever was presented to a superior. When the ceremony was finished, she was re-conducted to the palace in the same state.

The various gradations of rank on such occasions were marked in the middle ages by a variety of minute circumstances. A countess, for instance, could have but *three shelves* in her buffet, on which she might place but *two* confection-boxes. The hangings of her apartments could not be hung with satin or damask, but she was obliged to be contented with silk of an inferior quality, tapestry, or embroidery on silk. These regulations show how various must have been the products of the loom, when tapestry and embroidery in silk were assigned to the inferior ranks. The coverlet of a countess was of *menu vair* (that is, petit gris) in lieu of ermine, and the lining might only appear beneath the fur

half a yard, whilst an additional quarter marked the royal rank. The canopy of her buffet must consist of velvet, not of cloth of gold, and must not be bordered with a different colour or texture. The number and form of the very pillows were exactly regulated. One restriction appears to our ideas peculiarly strange—it was the exclusive privilege of a royal dame to place her couch opposite the fire, or fire-place; and the punctilious author of “The Ceremonies of the Court” observes, that all is going wrong in the world, since some unprivileged ladies of the low countries had presumed to set their couches opposite the fire, “for which they were justly ridiculed by all.”¹⁹ Modern lenity might perhaps suggest an excuse for the dangerous innovation in the humid atmosphere of their climate.

¹⁹ The lawful station of the couch of such ladies was in the corner of the chamber.

“Item—Les dames de bannières grandes ont en leur gesines le grand liet, et une couchette à un coing de la chambre, et tout ainsi tendus, et ordonnez, comme cy-dessus est escript; et n’y a rien de différent, sinon qu’elles n’ont point de couchette devant le feu. Toutes fois depuis dix ans en cà aucunes dames du pays de Flandres ont mis la couche devant le feu, de quoy l’on s’est bien moqué; car du temps de Madame Issabelle de Portugal, nulles du pays de Flandres ne le faisoient: mais un chacun fait à cette heur à sa guise: par quoy est à doubter, que tout irat mal; car les estats sont trop grants comme chacun sçayt et dit.”—*Les Honeurs de la Cour, by Alienor de Poitiers, Comtesse de Furnès—St. Palaye, Memoirs sur l’Ancienne Chevalerie*, t. 2.

At the first moment of her existence Joanna was placed in the hands of the woman who has acquired such unhappy celebrity in history under the appellation of Philippa the Catanese, so called from her native place, Catania in Sicily.

This *fortunée malheureuse*, as she has been emphatically called, was the wife of a Sicilian fisherman, and exercised the profession of a laundress at Catania, when Violante of Arragon, who had accompanied her husband, Robert of Naples, in an expedition against Sicily, was obliged, by the inconveniences to which she was subject in an enemy's country, to take Philippa, who served the court as a washerwoman, to nurse her son, the duke of Calabria.²⁰ Philippa, naturally beautiful, intelligent, and graceful, quickly acquired the manners of the court, and by the faithful and tender care she took of her foster-child, endeared herself to the heart of queen Violante, who sought her advancement on every occasion. The seneschal of king Robert, Raimond de Chabannes, had at this time a favourite Moor, who had served him so well in his kitchen and household, that he gave him his own Christian and surname in baptism, and set him free; and, shortly after, resigning his seneschalship, recommended Raimond the Moor in his place, who soon grew into as much favour with king Robert, as Philippa had done with Violante. It was the practice of the Angevine princes to re-

²⁰ Costanzo.

ward merit in a low station; and Robert, especially, was heard to say, he preferred perfect fruit in an ignoble vessel, to the less admirable productions of nature, though set before him in a vase of gold. In these unsettled, arbitrary, and adventurous times, when there was no inalienable personal rank²¹ (except the order of knighthood), sovereigns not unfrequently rewarded what they supposed to be personal attachment in the lowest of their subjects by stations of confidence in their household, which gave temporary rank to those who possessed them. Such incongruous association is inconsistent with modern ideas of propriety; for though all are eligible to the honours of public offices, the intimacies of private life in exalted stations are inaccessible to the low-born, or more properly speaking, to the *low-bred*. Pope Paschal the Second seems to have fully comprehended this first canon of regal decorum, when he said, “We must always stoop a little when we raise people from the ground.”

Unfortunately the king and queen of Naples were not aware of this truth; and when the first

²¹ That is, no rank inseparable from territorial possessions. An English peer, though he sell every acre of his paternal estate, yet preserves the privileges of his rank, and transmits them to his posterity. But at the period here treated of, lands and title went together. The count or duke of to-day might be plain Richard or John to-morrow; and the menial who had by any means acquired his lands, would also take place of him in rank.

husband of Philippa died, they united their two favourites in marriage. At the entreaty of Violante, Raimond the Moor was made a knight, and as Costanzo quaintly observes, now distinguished himself as much in the field as he had formerly done in the kitchen, thereby acquiring riches and honours. Violante on her death-bed recommended Philippa to the favour of Robert. When he married a second princess of the house of Arragon, the pious and virtuous queen Sancha, he placed Philippa about her person, to whom she became equally dear. When her foster-child, the duke of Calabria, married Catherine of Austria, she was appointed first lady of the bed-chamber, and accompanied Maria of Valois to Florence in the same high station.

The affection felt for this woman by so many exalted persons in succession, was by a credulous age supposed to be produced by magic potions, in which the Sicilian women were thought to be peculiarly skilled; but the discerning Boccaccio attributes the favour Philippa acquired, principally to her skill in cosmetics and confectionary.²²

The king of Naples now seemed at the summit

²² This opinion is quaintly expressed in what John Lydgate, the monk of Bury, calls *Bocchas' Falls of Princes* :—

Duke Roger, of Naples, the citie,
Wedded a lady that was called Saustie,

of public glory and private felicity, and in gratitude to heaven readily acceded to his son's desire of founding the celebrated monastery of San Martino, on the site of a favourite royal residence between Naples and the castle of St. Elmo.

The monastery and gardens of San Martino command, confessedly, the most enchanting prospect in the world. The piety of Joanna's father deemed the charms of this spot too exquisite to be enjoyed by any but a Carthusian monk, who

To whom Philippa, as fit to her degree,
With diligence and great humility,
To please her did so her devoyre,
That of counsayle was none so near,
Ever ready at her commaundment ;
Brought attires pleasant of delyte,
With wholesome waters that were redolent,
To make her skin, by washing, sote and whyte,
Made confections to serve her appetyte.

This translation Lydgate dedicated to Henry VI. The sentiments of his dedication are the same which a modern poet might address to a monarch of the present day; for the subject matter of dedication has been pretty much the same in all ages; but how different would be the language a poet would now use to make them acceptable to the refined taste of an English monarch of the nineteenth century :—

“ I do present this book with hand shaking,
Of whole affection kneeling on my knee,
Praying the Lord one, two, and three,
Whose magnificence no clerk may comprehend,
To send you might, grace, and prosperitie,
Ever in vertue to increase and ascend.”

might have his thoughts raised to heaven by the daily contemplation of what was most beautiful on earth. However mistaken we may consider the effects of the piety of these times, it was certainly noble and generous in its spirit. No niggard gifts were bestowed on the altar, no feeble remnant of a life spent in sin was devoted to its service; the first bloom of beauty and the spring time of manhood were consecrated to religion; and princes bestowed, with willing liberality, the richest lands and most precious jewels they possessed, to found or ornament the edifices erected to its honour.

The founding of the monastery of San Martino (1328) was one of the last acts of the duke of Calabria's life: his work was continued by his father, and completed and richly endowed by his daughter, Joanna. Ere the close of this year both king and kingdom were plunged into the deepest affliction, by the unexpected death of their long-regretted prince, occasioned by a fever which he caught in following the diversion of hawking.²³

' In the last illness of the duke, his father sat at his bed-side night and day, anxiously watching every changing symptom of his disease, in the vain hope of prolonging his life by his own skill in physic. When life and hope had expired together, the disconsolate parent walked about, in-

²³ Villani.

cessantly ejaculating, in the mourning strains of the prophet of woe—"Cecidit corona capitis mei, vae mihi! vae vobis!" And yet so far did his sense of the duties of his kingly office enable him to restrain his paternal affliction, when it would have interfered with the welfare of his subjects, that he regulated some of the affairs of state, and administered justice on the day on which the duke of Calabria died²¹—an instance of fortitude more truly admirable than any of which pagan antiquity can boast; as it has been justly observed, that it is easier to annihilate than to control the emotions of the human heart.

The duke of Calabria was buried in the church of St. Claire, founded by his father in the year 1310. The sculpture of his monument is beautifully emblematical of his protection of defenceless innocence: from a conch shell of water at his feet, a lamb drinks at peace, unterrified by the fierce wolf, who slakes his thirst at her side from the same fountain. A superstitious story was long orally transmitted from generation to generation amongst the Neapolitans, with regard to this church. Robert had expended immense sums in building and ornamenting it; when finished, he took his son through the edifice, and pointed out to his notice the magnificence of every part. Suspecting, from the duke's manner, that he was not perfectly satisfied with it, he pressed him for

²¹ Bouche.

his undisguised opinion : the duke hesitated, but at last said, that from its shape he thought it more resembled a stable than a church. Robert, “ either from that natural dislike which all men feel to have their works censured, or moved by the spirit of prophecy, exclaimed, *May it please God, my son, that you may not be the first that shall cat in this stable.*” After this, it is scarcely necessary to add, that the duke was the first of his family who was buried in the church of St. Claire.²⁵

This lamented prince was handsome and agreeable in his appearance; his figure was finely formed, sufficiently robust, and not too tall.²⁶ His features were regular, the contour of his face round, and its expression rendered more manly by his black flowing hair and thick bushy beard. Though not fond of war, he was often in the field, and of undoubted courage; his abilities were respectable, though not so shining as those either of his father or daughter; but he had the true wisdom which is above price, and possessed every quality which could endear him to his family and vassals. His funeral service was celebrated at Florence, with the utmost magnificence, of which the extraordinary profusion of wax-tapers was thought the most honourable particular.²⁷ The trades of Florence, the men and

²⁵ Giannone.

²⁶ Villani.

²⁷ “ Molte grandi e onorevole di cera in grandissima quantita.”—*Villani*.

women of the better class of citizens, the barons and knights left there by the duke, and the Guelph party generally, assembled in such crowds that they filled not only the church of the minor friars where the office was celebrated, but the whole of the adjoining place of Santa Croce.²⁸

Maria of Sicily, the sister of Joanna, was born a few months after the death of the duke of Calabria, whom the duchess survived but three years; by her last testament, she divided the portion of sixty thousand livres she had received from her father, and her dower in land in the kingdom of Naples, equally between the infant princesses, but left the richest and choicest portion of her jewels, clothes, hangings, and furniture, to Joanna.²⁹

As nothing is said against this princess in history, we may safely conclude, that her conduct was irreproachable, and that her death was a misfortune to her children, the eldest of whom, in her sixteenth year, was called to reign over a haughty and ambitious race of princes, a licentious nobility, and a ferocious people.

The death of the duke of Calabria occurred (1328) the year after the accession of Edward III to the throne of England, and that of his brother-in-law, Philip of Valois, to the crown of France. The Swiss Cantons yet struggled to establish their independence against the power of the duke

²⁸ Villani.

²⁹ Bouche.

of Austria, the father of his first wife. The crown of Hungary was possessed by his cousin, Carobert, son of Charles Martel. The peninsula of Spain was divided into Moorish and Christian kingdoms of various degrees of importance; and whilst Louis of Bavaria, unsanctioned by the papal authority, governed the empire of Germany, the empire of the west was rapidly falling to decay under the feeble Palæologi, whose title was ineffectually disputed by the Neapolitan prince, Robert of Taranto, as the heir of the daughter of the last Latin emperor, Baldwin II. A few revolving years brought about the first passage of the Turks into Europe, the rise of Bajazet, and the widely-extended empire of Tamerlane.

CHAP. IV.

The Oaths of Allegiance to the Infant Joanna—Philippa appointed her Governess—Her Marriage with Andrew of Hungary—Friar Robert appointed Preceptor to Andrew—Inundation of the Arno, at Florence—Early Display of superior Endowments in Joanna—Inferior Character of Andrew—Robert's Regret at the Marriage—He causes the Oaths of Allegiance to be taken to Joanna alone—The Exclusion of Andrew—Petrarch's Visit to the Court of Naples.

THE chief consolation of Robert, on the death of his son, was found in the education of his grand-daughters Joanna and Maria; and his first care was, to establish their peaceable succession to his dominions. To this intent, in 1331 he caused the oaths of allegiance to be taken to Joanna, with remainder to her sister. The prince of Taranto dying the following year, bequeathed the principality of Taranto to the elder of his grand-nieces, in failure of his own male issue. This preference of Joanna to his nephews of the House of Durazzo tended much to secure her claim to the throne; and as the heiress of all the rights and privileges of her father, she was now styled duchess of Calabria.

On the death of Maria of Valois, the virtuous queen Sancha endeavoured to fill the office of a

mother to the young princesses. Sancha was distinguished for her piety, and had long had so strong an inclination towards a life of religious seclusion, that she would ere this period have taken the monastic vows in the convent of St. Claire, which she had herself founded (1317), had not Pope John XXII told her that the project of thus deserting her conjugal duties was a snare of the evil one.¹ Whilst the court of Sancha was the school of piety, the palace of Robert was the academy of learning; but a choice of vital importance was to be made in that female to whom their authority must be delegated in the immediate care and superintendence of the young princesses. The religious orders had generally been entrusted with the education of the children of the royal family of Naples. The grandmother of Robert was, as we have seen, placed under the care of three religious recluses.² His sisters had been brought up in the convents of Provence, and the duke of Calabria had been educated by St. Elzear, a noble monk of the order of St. Francis.³ The generality of women, like the generality of men, at this period, were grossly ignorant, but some exceptions were to be

¹ De Sade, *Mémoires de Petrarque*, t. ii. 81.

² These pious dames liked their office so well, that they continued to reside with Beatrice after she became Queen of Naples.

³ Bouché.

found in the one sex as in the other, and these were chiefly to be sought in the religious houses; though France and Italy had produced some poetesses, and some women in the ordinary walks of life had also distinguished themselves in the severer sciences.⁴ The daughters of the nobility, though deficient in learning, were in many instances eminent for those heroic virtues peculiarly adapted to the exalted but perilous situation Joanna was destined to fill. "A woman of rank in these times," says an elegant writer,⁵ "was proud, but her pride only tended to render her condescension more graceful, and the two qualities united gave her eloquence and ease, and every winning and beautiful attraction; conscious of her worth, she spontaneously shrunk from pusillanimity and weakness, and was consequently capable of great and heroic effort, when a great emergency called for it."

But neither the high-minded dame of chivalry, nor the holy nun, nor the lettered professor's daughter, were chosen by the *wise* Robert to form the manners and mould the ductile mind of the

⁴ Novella, the daughter of a celebrated doctor of laws at the University of Bologna, was so erudite as to fill her father's chair, when sickness, indolence, or business, prevented his fulfilling the duties of his profession himself. Her beauty was so great, that she was obliged to lecture behind a curtain, lest her charms should distract the attention of the students.

⁵ Godwin's *Life and Age of Chaucer*.

young duchess of Calabria ; she was consigned to the exclusive care of a woman sprung from the dregs of the people, by profession originally a laundress, and the wife of a fisherman ! But

“ She was cunning, and of her port prudent,

Chosen by favour to be maistresse

To fayre Jane, young and innocent.”

Whether Philippa the Catanese was, or was not, worthy of the honours heaped on her by Robert and Sancha, her low origin was an essential injury to the reputation of her royal charge ; her contemporaries, who envied her exaltation, were willing to credit every enormity that could be attributed to her ; and a natural, and in general well-founded, prejudice makes against those who have not had the advantages of early education and respectable station. The reputation of a young woman must suffer, where that of her domestic guides or associates is impugned ; and when we first carelessly read in history, that “ the young queen of Naples suffered her affections to be engaged, and her conduct in early life guided by an old Catanese, sprung from the dregs of the people, and formerly a laundress,” we are shocked at the low taste that could have induced her to chuse such an associate ; but when we enter into her story in detail, our surprise ceases, and we find that this laundress was always to her the first lady of the court,⁶ whom she was, from the first moment

⁶ “ Venne in tanta riputazione, che era tenuta per la maggior donna della corte.”—*Costanza*.

of dawning reason, taught to respect and obey—who supplied, to all appearance, a mother's care—and who, doubtless, lavished all those engaging attentions to gain her young heart, which had previously won the affections of so many of her royal race. For forty-five years Philippa retained the favour of Robert, who not only promoted her to the highest office a female subject could hold, but appointed all her relatives to places of importance. Her son, who had been a bishop, on the death of his father and brothers returned to serve as a lay cavalier in the palace, and was made grand seneschal of the palace; and her son-in-law, the count of Trelice, was the marshal of the king.

“ O Lord,” quoth Bocchas, spoke of hys disdein,
 “ What meaneth this Fortune for to make chere,
 With her favour to raise up a foreign
 Upon her wheel with fethers bright and clear;
 But of custom it is aye her manere
 Fayrest to appear with cheer and countenance
 When she will bring a man into mischance.”⁷

Falls of Princes.

The measures taken by Robert to promote the welfare of Joanna, were so unfortunate in their

⁷ The insufficiency of the favours of Fortune to confer true dignity is beautifully expressed by Guido Guinizzelli, a Tuscan poet, and one of the immediate predecessors of Dante.

“ The sun strikes the earth the whole day, yet it remains vile, and the sun loses not its heat. The proud man says, I am noble by my birth. The earth resembles him, and the sun

consequences, and obviously so unwise, that we cannot but suppose, either that his intellect was enfeebled by grief for the loss of his son, or that, like our own James the first, he was rather learned than wise (for with the mass of mankind these two words have too often been considered synonymous, especially at a period when learning was of rare and difficult acquirement), and that much of the prudence of his previous conduct had been owing, first to the counsels of his father, and latterly to those of his son. In conformity to the wishes of queen Sancha, he had given his future heiress a governess whose low origin reflected discredit on her royal charge, rendered herself obnoxious to the pride of the nobility, and to the calumnious envy of that class from which she

noble worth. We should not believe that there is any nobility without worth, even in the dignity of a king, if he have not from virtue a noble heart. Water reflects the rays of light (or bears rays), but the sky retains its stars and its splendor—

“ Fere lo sol lo fango tutto il giorno,
 Vile riman, ne’ l’ sol perde calore.
 Dice huom alter, nobil per schiatta torno :
 Lui sembra ’l fango, e ’l sol gentil valor.
 Che non de’ dare huom fè
 Che grandezza sia fuor di corraggio
 In dignità di ré
 Se da vertute non ha gentil core.
 Com’ aigua * porta raggio,
 E ’l ciel ri ten le stelle e lo splendore.

Ginguenté, Hist. Litt. d’Italie, t. i. 415.

* Aigua (Provençal) water.

sprung; and he next, at the suggestion of Pope John XXII, united her to a child of seven years of age, whose youth and feeble capacity rendered him first the slave of designing men, and finally the victim of faction and ambition. When Joanna had completed her fifth year, Robert, by the advice of the Pope, entered into a treaty with his nephew, Carobert of Hungary, to unite her in marriage with one of his sons, and thus combine the opposing claims of the first and second branch of the family of Charles of Anjou to the crown of Naples.* Carobert had already destined the crown of Hungary to his eldest son Louis, that of Poland (in right of his wife) to his second son Stephen; and as Pope John XXII was a man of sordid mind and mercenary habits, he had probably secretly influenced him to procure the heiress of Naples for his youngest son Andrew, thus leaving the question of succession as open to dispute as ever. For if the grandfather of Carobert, Charles II of Naples, had not had a right to bequeath the crown of Sicily to his second son, the now reigning king, how could the king of Hungary make over his own claims on that crown to his *third* son Andrew, to the prejudice of his two elder sons Louis and Stephen, and their heirs? In fact, this marriage could only serve to

* Mémoires de Petrarque, t. i. 78.

† The consequences which might have been expected from this alliance did not fail to ensue; for on the death of Andrew,

renew the connections of the Hungarians in the kingdom, and revive pretensions which the lapse of time, prescription, the custom of the age, and the decision of the see of Rome (of which Naples, from its first erection into a monarchy, had been acknowledged to be a dependant fief) had set at rest. The princes of the House of Taranto or Durazzo offered a more natural and politic connexion. The feudal possessions of the sovereign in the kingdom of Naples were comparatively but small to those of the younger branches of the royal family. When Charles II gave the kingdom of Hungary to his eldest son, Charles Martel, and that of the Two Sicilies, with Provence and Piedmont, to his second son Robert, he gave to his fourth son the principality of Taranto, comprising nearly half the kingdom of Naples, and to his fifth son, the count of Gravina (afterwards duke of Durazzo in the Morea) a considerable portion of the rest; so that, in fact, the sovereign was but the nominal chief of a race of princes, collectively as powerful as himself. When the prince of Taranto had appointed Joanna his heiress, in default of his sons, and in preference to *his own daughters*, and his nearer relatives, the princess of Durazzo, she probably recurred to his mind as the future bride of his eldest son; and as he pos-

his eldest brother Louis claimed the investiture of the kingdom of Naples for himself, not only during the life of Joanna and her sister, but of his nephew, the child of Andrew.

sessed considerable influence over the mind of the king, he would, probably, had he been living at this period, have induced him to unite her to one of his sons or nephews. Robert of Taranto and Charles of Durazzo, the elder princes of the two families, were youths of known valour and ability, and each expected his uncle to bestow the hand of the future queen, either on himself or one of his minor brothers; she would thus have acquired an able defender, and the crown solid power. In an age when every thing depended on the personal character of the sovereign, it was a hazardous experiment, to trust the destiny of Joanna and the kingdom to the chance of what might be the future character of a child but little older than herself; and by an unhappy fatality, Andrew of Hungary was the only one of the Angevine race who possessed no ability either in the field, the closet, or the council. The extreme youth of this ill-fated boy, which prevented Robert from discerning his ignoble character, should of itself have formed an insuperable objection: the uncertainty of human life could scarcely permit the king to hope to live till the expiration of his minority; and one of the motives which had induced the court of Rome to confirm the testament of his father was, that the prince and barons of Naples would not suffer themselves to be governed by Hungarian deputies. In this turbulent age, a female sovereign, and more

especially a minor, required a martial consort to defend her rights. Any unwedded prince in Europe would have rejoiced to have thus become the protector of the baby heiress of such extensive possessions; for, as a quaint historian has observed, "she never lacks years to wed, who has a kingdom to her dower."

Had Robert united Joanna to Louis, the eldest of the Hungarian brothers, there might have been some show of wisdom in the alliance; though, as the kingdoms of Naples and Hungary could not be governed by the same monarch, as the subsequent pages will fully prove, he would have brought her only the claims of his family, whatever they might have been worth, and his own personal ability and valour to defend their mutual throne; and therefore even he would have been a less wise choice than either the equally valiant and able prince of Taranto, or duke of Durazzo, who possessed efficient power, in their own right, in the kingdom of Naples itself—a power which the latter, on the death of Robert, endeavoured to turn to the destruction of Joanna, after his abduction of her sister, but which, had he been the consort of the youthful queen, might have proved her best safeguard.

Though Robert lived bitterly to repent this ill-advised union, he was so infatuated by the counsels of the Pope, as, at the period of its comple-

tion, to be wholly blind to the obvious objections which common prudence should have suggested ; and when the king of Hungary and his son arrived at Naples, he received them with every demonstration of heartfelt joy. Carobert and his attendant barons were astonished at the wealth and magnificence of the court of Naples, not only as displayed by the princes of the blood royal, but by all the attendant counts and barons of the kingdom, whom Robert had summoned on the occasion. A succession of jousts and feasts amused the Hungarians till the arrival of the dispensation for the marriage from Avignon, which was celebrated¹⁰ with a degree of pomp never before witnessed in the kingdom of Naples on any similar occasion. The nobility of both sexes vied with the members of the royal family in the splendor of their own vestments and the magnificence of their retinue. The ambitious and turbulent princes of Taranto and Durazzo, though they looked upon Andrew as an unwelcome intruder who had snatched the crown from their grasp, and blasted their well-founded and long-cherished expectations, sought, by an unusual display of magnificence, to conceal their dissatisfaction at the nuptials.¹¹ Ambassadors from all the states and principalities of Italy attended on the occasion, amongst whom the Florentines were the most remarkable, not only for the magnificence

¹⁰ 27th Sept. 1333.

¹¹ Costanzo.

of their own attire, but for the number of their retinue, bearing the arms and dressed in the liveries of the duke of Calabria, as if he were still their ruler. A more delicate compliment could not have been paid to his memory by the refined taste of this intelligent people. The two kings were overjoyed at the conclusion of this marriage, the Neapolitan monarch, thinking he had thus secured the undisputed succession¹² of his grand-daughter, and the Hungarian exulting in having procured for his son one of the most flourishing kingdoms of Europe ; for it may with justice be observed, that the kingdom of Naples never held so high a comparative rank amongst European powers, as at this period. From the absence of the Pope, and abasement of the empire, the sovereign of Naples was virtually temporal chief of Italy, and Italy was, for arts, commerce, and literature, the first kingdom of Christendom. Robert, in token of his joy on the occasion, built a church, dedicated to Our Lady, and made a large promotion of knights and counts ; but could he have looked into futurity, he would have beheld with anguish the innocent children led as victims to the altar, each that day doomed to a violent and tragical death. When the infant

¹² The princes of the royal family at this time were, the young princes of Taranto, Robert, Louis, and Philip ; the duke of Durazzo and his three sons, Charles, Louis, and Robert ; and Galeazzo, the natural brother of the king.

bride, splendid in gold, and pearls, and gems, and more resplendent still in her own native beauty and grace, knelt with her imbecile consort to receive the paternal benediction, the venerable king, like the prophet of old when he thought to speak of blessings, should only have predicted blasted fame, misery, and death. And as he had five years before ejaculated over the tomb of her father, "Woe to me! woe to you!" the same mourning strains should now have sent back the chilled blood to her young heart, and the royal sage might then indeed have exclaimed, "The crown is fallen from my head," for thus the glory of his race passed away.¹³

¹³ Si fece sposare al detto Andreasso ch' era in età di sette anni, la figliuola maggiore del duca di Calavria (*che era d'età di cinque anni*) e lui fece duca di Calavria a di 27 di Settembre. The words in italic are those alluded to by Tiraboschi from Villani.

Remorse is commonly said to have prompted Robert to unite his grand-daughter to the grandson of his brother, Charles Martel. That prince visited Charles II at Naples in the year 1308 or 1309, and there died suddenly. The calumniating spirit of the age accused Robert of having poisoned him, in order to induce his father to leave the kingdom of Naples to him; and supposed that the marriage of Joanna, and his bequest of the hand of her sister to the brother of Andrew, *for certain secret reasons* (as his testament expresses it) was intended to atone for the fratricide. Charles Martel died at about the same age as Charles duke of Calabria, and very probably from a similar cause—a fever, occasioned by over exertion in field sports.

About the end of October, in the same year, Carobert returned to Hungary, leaving his son to be educated at the court of Naples; but unfortunately appointed an Hungarian governor and preceptor, with a suite of the same nation, who filled every office about his person. The authority of his governor Nicholas, the Hungarian, was merely nominal, as Friar Robert, a brother of the Cordeliers, was invested with full and uncontrolled authority as his preceptor in faith and letters.

This worse than serpent, as Petrarch calls him, concealing vice and cruelty under the garb of hypocrisy, laboured only to bring up his pupil in superstitious ignorance, in order to gain an undivided and pernicious influence over his mind, imposing on him and the multitude by the feigned sanctity of his disgusting person, ostentatiously arrayed in squalid and filthy habiliments, which were supposed to prove the wearer's indifference to all earthly cares and pleasures ¹⁴

About a month after the early nuptials of Joanna, Florence was nearly destroyed by an overflow of the Arno, swelled by continual rains, which had seemed as if the "cataracts of heaven had poured down on the city;" and the inundation was followed by tremendous storms of lightning and wind. "As the city had never sustained

¹⁴ To be distinguished for a nauseating contempt of cleanliness was thought, in these ages, a mark of superior sanctity, from which, says a French w.t., the *odeur de sanctité* is derived.

such injury since the desolating visit of Attila, the Scourge of God, a question arose among the citizens, whether the present calamity was occasioned by the influence of the stars, or by a special interposition of Providence for the correction of their sins." The latter opinion is supported by the historian Villani, who, after adducing many examples from scripture in its defence, states as an irrefragable proof, that "on the night of the deluge a holy hermit, in his solitary hermitage above the Abbey of Vallombrosa, being in prayer, felt and audibly heard¹⁵ a noise or crash of demons, and a troop of armed cavaliers riding furiously past. On this, the said hermit, making the sign of the holy cross, went to the wicket, and saw a multitude of cavaliers riding by, all black and terrible; conjuring some of them, in the name of God, to tell what this might mean, they said, "We are going, if it please God, to drown the city of Florence for its wickedness." The credulous historian adds, that the truth of this story was certified to himself by the abbot of Vallombrosa, after examining his hermit. On this occasion Robert, "who was more eminent in philosophy and wisdom than any king who had worn a crown for a thousand years," wrote, *in noble Latin*, a letter of fatherly admonition and comfort to the Florentines, exhorting them to repentance for their sins, patience under their

¹⁵ Villani.

misfortunes, and lively gratitude to heaven for this merciful and loving chastisement, a mark of Divine favour, which had been granted to them in consideration of their many virtues, and of their having always been the illustrious arm of the church, and a fortress of steady faith.¹⁶

The next five or six years of Joanna's life passed unmarked by any incident of importance. Her generous and affectionate disposition endeared her to all around her, whilst her singular talents rendered the accomplishments befitting her rank of easy acquisition. At twelve years old she was distinguished for her superior endowments, "*and already surpassed in understanding not only every child of her own age, but many women of mature years.*"¹⁷ The various perfections of her mind, and the opening graces of her external form and manners, which in happier circumstances would have formed the sweetest consolation of the declining years of her grandfather, too often served only to inflict on his heart the severest anguish. A prey to unavailing repentance for the hapless destiny he had himself prepared for her, he foresaw, with miserable prescience, the perils that awaited her on every side, whenever his death

¹⁶ The epistle of the royal sage is too long, tedious, and uninteresting, to be inserted in the text; the curious reader will find it in the Appendix, No. XI. The royal author quotes, in turn, the Scriptures, St. Gregory, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, Bede, Cæsar, and Seneca.

¹⁷ Giannone—Costanzo.

should yield her an unprotected victim to the rude insolence of the semi-barbarous Hungarians, whom he had made the arbiters of her fate, and expose her to the effects of the haughty and ambitious spirit of the martial princes of her own family. In the five or six years which her youthful consort had passed at the court of Naples, he had acquired nothing from his Hungarian preceptors and associates (the latter of whom continually increased by the arrival of fresh adventurers from Hungary) except their unpolished manners; the deficiencies of his negative character became hourly more apparent, under the tuition of the artful friar, who, in hopes to maintain his influence even when his authority as preceptor should cease, and exercise an undivided sway over the mind of his pupil, nurtured him in stupid inactivity and superstitious ignorance; laboured to inspire him with aversion for every Neapolitan, and sought to persuade him of the validity of rights in his own person, which neither princes nor people would allow.

Robert foreseeing that, immediately on his death, the Hungarians would seize the reins of government, and by their quarrels with the princes of the blood, whom he had always treated with deference and affection, draw on the kingdom the horrors of civil war, adopted an expedient which could only serve to palliate, not remedy, the evils he dreaded. He summoned a general

assembly of the nation, in which he caused the oaths of allegiance to be taken to Joanna *alone*, thus excluding Andrew, or rather his ambitious followers, from all share in the government, granting him only the title of consort of the queen, who might appoint her own council, independently of his consent.

This oath of exclusive allegiance to the young and popular princess was taken with alacrity by the Italian nobles, who, independently of political jealousy, detested the Hungarians for the coarser form of their vices, the barbarous insolence of their manners, and the drunkenness and low intemperance of their habits, so different from the vivacious, but sober, mirth of the polished, though not less licentious, Neapolitans.

A half measure of this nature was wholly inadequate to the end desired. The political union of Andrew and Joanna was thus dissolved; but their civil and religious contract of marriage still remained in full force. The pride and interest of the Hungarians were roused to establish the claim of Andrew wholly independent of Joanna, whilst the designing amongst the Neapolitan nobility were furnished with the means of exciting dissensions amongst the lower order, and of forwarding their own fortunes on the ruin of both.—One or two more decided steps might yet have secured the peace of the kingdom, and the happiness of Joanna.

The first was, by the favour of the new pontiff, to undo the fatal work of his predecessor, and, annulling the contract of marriage which had, without their own consciousness, bound two children together, to have united Joanna to some wise and valiant prince, who might have proved an efficient protector against the open enmity of the Hungarian family. If this had seemed too bold a measure for the timid caution of declining years and increasing infirmity, it yet remained to the king to have dismissed the hated preceptors of the young prince, and to have surrounded him with men of acknowledged wisdom and probity, in whom both monarch and people might have confided. From the character of Andrew individually, though nothing was to be hoped, little was to be feared; the too great pliability of his disposition would have rendered him as tractable to one set of men as to another. The ability and energy of Joanna would have compensated for his inactivity, whilst her extreme beauty and mild manners could not have failed, in the end, to have established her influence over his mind. And though her grandfather might still have pitied her lot in being destined to pass her life with a consort so little worthy of being united to her, yet custom might have reconciled her to his defects, even if her superior genius should never rouse his dormant intellect into action; and with a heart peculiarly susceptible of all the kindlier

affections, as a wife and mother, she might have learned to love the man with whom she had been associated from her earliest infancy.¹⁸

Though the heart of the good king was a prey to cares which, in undermining his health, hastened the evils he anticipated, yet, to the last, he pursued those studies which, from youth to age, had been his greatest source of pleasure, and continued to extend his patronage to all distinguished for learning. At his request, the senate of Rome offered the laurel crown to Pe-

¹⁸ Gli affanni e travagli intricarono l'animo di Rè Roberto in molte molestissime cure, perche vedea ch' in cinque o sei anni ch' Andrea Duca di Calabrio era stato nel regno e nodrito nella corte sua, accademia e domicilio d'ogni virtute, non avea lasciato niente de' costumi barbari d' Ungaria, ne pigliati di quelli che potea pigliare, ma trattava con quegli Ungari, che gli avea lasciati il padre, e con altri che di tempo in tempo venivano. Il povero vecchio restò pentito d' aver fatto tal elezione, ed avea pietà grandissima di Giovanna sua nipote, fanciulla rarissima, e che in quell' età che non passava dodici anni, superava di prudenza non solo le sue coetanee, ma molte altre donne d' età provetta, avesse da passare la vita sua con un uomo stolido e da poco; avea ancora grandissima dispiacere, ch' antivedea, come signore prudentissimo, le discordie che sarebbono nate nel' regno dopo la sua morte, perche conosceva che 'l governo verrebbe in mano degli Ungari, i quali governando con l'insolenza e non trattando i reali a quel modo che gli avea trattati esso, gli avrebbe indotti a pigliare l' arme con ruina e confusione d'ogni cosa; e per questo credendosi rimediare convocò parlamento generale di tutti i baroni del regno e delle città reali, e fè giurare Giovanna sola per regina."

trarch, an honour that poet had long desired to obtain, but which he would not accept until the "Solomon of the age" should, after a scrupulous examination, pronounce him worthy of wearing it. Though the Italian poems of Petrarch were so popular as to be repeated and sung, not only by the young and fair, but by the hoary-headed Nestors of the day, yet it was not their merits that procured for him the poetic laurel; but his Latin works, and more especially his *Africa*, a poem, which is but seldom read in modern times.¹⁹ Yet the judgment of posterity, in general, has been scarcely less erroneous than that of the contemporaries of this great man, wandering as far from truth in a contrary extreme, by considering his character only as the fantastic lover of Laura, some extolling the poetry that passion produced with extravagant admiration; others bestowing on him a sort of contemptuous praise, as a mere framer of smooth verses and forced *concelli*; whilst almost all overlook his claims to our approbation and gratitude as a wise and zealous promoter of literature and real learning, as a temperate philosopher and enlightened politician, and to our unqualified admiration as the man who, of all others recorded in any age, was most pre-eminently superior to his contemporaries in sound and just judgment. Petrarch seems to have possessed the moral and physical tempera-

¹⁹ See *Appendix*, No. XII.

ment most peculiarly adapted for happiness and success. Possessing general ability rather than peculiar genius, formed for friendship by the boundless benevolence of his heart, he found out the rare secret of combining amenity of manner with independence of mind. Beloved and respected by the great, he uniformly used his influence to promote the general interests of mankind, and the private happiness of individuals. The character he gives of himself in scattered passages of his epistles, presents a picture of his mind, to which little can be added, and in which nothing can be controverted—"My mind is like my body, more dextrous than strong, more just than acute, apt at all kinds of study, but most inclined to moral philosophy and poetry."—"I am much addicted to the study of antiquity, from the aversion I feel for this present age. I love truth, but not sects. I am sometimes a peripatetic—sometimes a stoic or academician—sometimes none of all these—a christian above all things—a philosopher, that is to say, loving wisdom—*the true wisdom which is Jesus Christ*. Let us read historian, poets, and philosophers, but let us ever have the gospel of Christ in our hearts, wherein is to be found true happiness and true wisdom."²⁰ Petrarch was the first of the moderns who, deserting the barbarous Latin of the church, endeavoured to imitate the style of the ancients, whose

²⁰ Mémoires de Petrarque.

works he was indefatigable in collecting and preserving; his correspondence for this purpose extending through France, Italy, Spain, and England. He was the first who dared to condemn the scholastic philosophy, and to set at nought the authority of Aristotle and his commentator Averroës, which, in that age, was almost as great a heresy as denying the scripture itself (the decretals of the church standing higher than either). "Superior in all things to his contemporaries, he despised alchemy, magic, astrology, and mystic visions. He first thought of establishing historical facts by a chronological series of medals, and endeavoured to form such a collection, with the zeal and industry which distinguished all his undertakings for the promotion of knowledge. When he went to meet the emperor Charles IV of Bohemia at Mantua, he presented him with some of the best he had collected; amongst others, with a remarkably fine one of Augustus. "Behold," said Petrarch to that sovereign, "the great men whose place you fill, and who ought to be your models." The science of geography, as necessary to the efficient study of history as chronology itself, was at this period as ill understood. Petrarch not only acquired considerable information on the subject himself, but excited others to devote their talents and industry to its elucidation.

²¹ The gospel and the great teachers laid aside,
The decretals, as their stufft margins show,
Are the sole study.—*Dante*.

If we may be permitted to apply such terms to one of the *olden time*, we may say that Petrarch united the character of the accomplished scholar and *fine gentleman*, with that higher character, too often distinct from both, a rational christian.

In his youth he was so remarkable for his personal beauty as to be pointed at in the streets and public assemblies. His figure was peculiarly elegant, his features noble and regular, his complexion florid, and his eyes remarkably fine and expressive. Prizing these advantages to their full value, he was, in early life, somewhat of what we moderns would call a *fop* in his dress. In a letter written to his brother when the hey-day of youth was over, he recalls to his recollection their former anxiety about dress when they used to spend half the day in arranging to advantage the luxuriant tresses it was then customary for men to wear. "Do you remember," continues he, "our wearing white robes, in which the smallest fold ill-placed would have been a subject of sincere sorrow! When our shoes, which would not admit of the smallest wrinkle, which were made so tight that we suffered martyrdom, and which, in the end, would have made me lame, had I not at length discovered, that it was better to consult the comfort of my own feelings than to please the eyes of others. Then, when we passed through the streets, what care, what study, to avoid the sudden gusts of wind that might have deranged our

curled locks, and the spots of mud that would have soiled the lustre of our robes!"

The life of Petrarch was unmarked by the greater vicissitudes of fortune, and a continued course of even and moderate prosperity was unalloyed by any affliction except that arising in the course of nature from the loss of friends. Perhaps no individual unpossessed of rank, riches, or political power, ever acquired such respect and consideration from his contemporaries. Kings, emperors, and popes, admitted him to familiarity and friendship, as if rather honoured than honouring, and received the freedom of his remonstrances with a degree of good temper not less admirable than surprising. The deference rendered by all ranks of men to the learning and worth of Petrarch, is not less creditable to the age in which he lived than to himself.

The father of this amiable poet was a Florentine citizen, the friend and associate of Dante, who was banished from Florence on the same occasion; and he, like the father of Boccaccio, prohibited his son from following the pursuits of literature, as diverting his mind from the study of jurisprudence, the sure road to riches and honours. Petrarch, with great pains and difficulty, collected a few books, which he studied in secret, but his father discovering them, threw them into the fire in his presence; at length moved to pity by the absolute shrieks of despair of the

young votary of the muses, as he saw treasures which could not be replaced destroyed by the devouring flames, he took out from the heap an as yet untouched Virgil and Cicero, granting him at the same time free permission to read them. Petrararch was, however, at a very early age, deprived not only of this kind, though misjudging, parent, but also of his mother; and fraudulent guardians dissipating the small fortune he and his brother inherited from them, they were both obliged to enter the ecclesiastical state for support. Gerard became a monk, and our poet accepted only of some small benefices, for he never would undertake the charge of souls, or any office which might affect his liberty, or engross his time from the pursuits of literature; and too conscientious to profit by the emoluments of an office whose duties he did not fulfil, he refused the rich bishoprics which the friendship of succeeding popes prayed him to accept. Existing but for friendship and fame, and desiring fame not alone from the puerile impulse of vanity, but as also giving him a more extensive and honourable influence over his species, he ardently desired the honour of the laurel crown, which should mark him, in a distinguished manner, the first poet of the age. This honour his friend and countryman, Robert de Bardi, chancellor of the University of Paris, induced that learned assembly to offer him: he was walking in the woods of Vaucluse

at eight in the morning of the twenty-third of August, 1340, when the invitation of the Parisian University reached him; and at four in the afternoon of the same day was traversing the meadows in the neighbourhood of his house, when a courier arrived with a similar decree from the senate of Rome, procured by the interest of king Robert. What must have been the intoxication of his reveries in the solitary rambles of that day!

Petrarch was at first uncertain which offer he should accept: the great poets of antiquity had been crowned at Rome, but he would have been the first who had ever received that honour at Paris. The desire of visiting "*the only king who could judge of any thing more intellectual than a ragout or a flight of birds*" decided him in favour of Rome; and in March, 1341, he arrived at Naples, in order to undergo a public examination, which afforded opportunity for a gratifying display of erudition, not only to him but to his examiner, the learned king Robert. Robert, more gratified by homage rendered to his learning than by that paid to his rank, gave him the most flattering reception, and kindly reproached him for having so long delayed to visit him: "Great king," replied Petrarch, "I have long desired it, but fortune has opposed it, and I confess, to my shame, that I have been deterred by the thought of the perils by sea and land."²² The conversation then turn-

²² De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.

ing on Philip of Valois, king of France, Robert said to Petrarch, "Have you never been at his court?" "I have never even wished it," replied he. "And why not?" said the prince, smiling. "Because," replied he, "I think a man like me could only be a useless and unwelcome personage about an ignorant king. I would rather live in an honest mediocrity than drag myself listlessly about a court, where no one would understand my sentiments." "I have heard," said Robert, that the eldest son of Philip is fond of study." "I have heard so too," replied Petrarch, "but that is not pleasing to his father; they even say, that he considers the preceptors of his son as his own enemies, but that is an assertion I will not guarantee." At these words Robert was seized with astonishment and indignation; for a few moments he was thoughtful and silent, with his eyes cast down on the ground. Probably thinking how fruitlessly he had laboured to inspire Andrew with those tastes which the king of France endeavoured to discourage in his son! Looking up at Petrarch, he said "Such is human life, and such the difference of tastes! for me, I swear, that letters are dearer to me than my crown; and were I obliged to renounce the one or the other, I should quickly tear away the diadem from my brow."

The interests of letters were not forgotten in their various conferences, which frequently turned

on the recovery of the works of the ancients, which both were so desirous of possessing. Under the direction of Petrarch, a new map of Italy was executed, which was the most correct the Italians possessed for many years after. At the desire of the king, he read to him a portion of his “Africa” which Robert admired much, as to request it might be dedicated to him—a promise which Petrarch fulfilled after his death.

Robert, anxious in all things to gratify the prevailing tastes of his esteemed guest, took him to visit the most interesting objects in the neighbourhood of Naples, amongst others, what is traditionally called the Tomb of Virgil, and the Grotto of Pausilippo.

Virgil is still considered by the populace of Naples to have been a magician, and was at this period so reputed all over Europe, even by the higher orders, and this opinion was then so firmly established at Naples, that it was scarcely safe to attack it.²³ When Pope Innocent VI believed Petrarch to deal in magic because he studied the works of Virgil, it was more from an idea of the unholy nature of his writings than from the rarity of the power of comprehending them. Robert, on the contrary, fell into the opposite extreme, and

²³ De Sade observes, that this idea probably originated in the double meaning of the word *carmen*, which signifies either verse or a magic charm.

despised them altogether as possessing no other merit than beauty of expression.

What is called the grotto of Pausilippo is a passage cut in the mountain, about a mile in length, and when visited by Petrarch was low, narrow, darker still than in modern times, and nearly suffocating with dust. It was, however, held so sacred, that robbers and murderers avoided its precincts, and it was never known to have been the scene of crime. The supposed tomb of Virgil stands near the entrance; a laurel, said to have sprung from it, shaded the hallowed spot for centuries, until it was destroyed by the fall of a poplar from the mountain in 1668. When Petrarch arrived at the entrance of the grotto, Robert asked him if he did not think, like every body else, that Virgil had made this excavation by the force of incantations. This question embarrassed him for a moment, as he knew the tradition was held sacred by the Neapolitan nobles who accompanied the king; but laughing at the snare which Robert had laid for him, he replied, “ I knew Virgil was a poet, but I never before understood he was a sorcerer! besides, I see the marks of the chisel.” Robert approved the reply by a movement of his head, and agreed there was nothing of sorcery in the matter.”

* Virgil was thought to have made by magic the colossal brazen horse whose head is still preserved in the Museo Borbonico at Naples; this horse was supposed to have the virtue

After these excursions the king proceeded to despatch the ostensible purpose of the poet's visit. His public examination lasted five days, from noon till evening. On the first day, Petrarch demonstrated the nobleness of the art of poetry, its end and utility—explained the characteristics of the various sorts of poetry in general—developed the mysteries contained in that of Virgil in particular—and concluded by explaining the mystic properties of the laurel crown he sought to obtain. The king, surprised at all he had heard, said to Petrarch in private, “If I had known in my youth all that you have just told me, I would have consecrated to poetry a large portion of the time I have given to other studies;” and after the departure of the poet, said to Boccaccio (then unknown to fame), “I am sorry to have known so late the beauties of poetry and the merits of Virgil; I could never have believed, that in the frivolous garb of poetic fictions, truths so sublime could have been clothed.”²⁵ It is on this

of curing diseases in those animals, and preserving them from all accidents; a vast number were taken yearly to Naples, and led three times round “this horse of Virgil,” says Alexander Misson; “but at last a certain archbishop, displeased with this extravagance, made a great bell out of the horse, which is at present in the cathedral of Naples.”

²⁵ The library of Robert is recorded to have contained the works of no fewer than ninety Provençal poets, which, however, were at this period oftener read by the young Joanna than by

circumstance that we have ventured to assert, that Robert was wholly unacquainted with the *Divina Commedia* of Dante; for even had verse been in its own nature offensive to him, the erudition of that poem would have made it his favourite study. If we admit the circumstance, we cannot fail to be struck with the slow passage of what was excellent in literature, from one district of the same country to another; what was commonly in the mouths of the smiths and mule-drivers of Tuscany, was unknown to the royal sage of Naples. Though the Italian poetry of Petrarch was repeated by the old and young of both sexes in Provence, and was celebrated all over Europe, yet it was not till after this period that Boccaccio became acquainted with it—another proof of the tardy circulation of literature at this period. Another day was devoted by Petrarch to a public lecture on the historians in general, and on Livy in particular. For three successive days Robert then held what might properly be called the examination; and questioned Petrarch on all those branches of science unconnected with poetry,

himself. Some authors have said, that on the departure of Petrarch, he immediately began to make a general collection of the poetry of ancient and modern times, and studied the art of versification himself: a collection of wise maxims in verse have been attributed to his pen, but on insufficient authority. Though his endeavouring to become a poet even at this late period of life, is highly characteristic of the lettered industry of the good king.

astonishing him in his turn by a display of profound learning. At the close of the third day, the king, in presence of the queen, the young princes and princesses of the royal family, and the whole court, pronounced an eulogium on the poet who had appealed to his judgment in preference to all the scholars in Europe, and declared him worthy of the laurel crown, which he further certified by letters patent. Had the infirm state of his health permitted it, he would have proceeded to Rome to crown him with his own hand. In consideration of this circumstance, he requested Petrarch to allow the ceremony to be performed at Naples, which, however, was declined with so many good reasons for the refusal, that Robert appointed as his representative John Barrili, their mutual friend. These estimable men, each excellent in his own walk of life, parted from each other with sincere regret; at their last interview, Robert exacted from Petrarch a promise to visit him once more; and at parting took off his own robe, with a request that he would wear it at the approaching ceremony of his coronation, which took place at Rome on the 8th of April, 1341, with every circumstance of pomp and ceremony; the whole concluding by his being taken in state to St. Peter's, where he returned thanks to God for the honour he had received, and hung up the consecrated wreath amongst the offerings on the walls of the holy edifice. The

whole ceremony and its object appears frivolous in our eyes; but such was the spirit of the fourteenth century in the poetical regions of Italy and Provence.²⁶

²⁶ See *Appendix*, No. XIII.

CHAP. V.

The Royal Family and Court of Naples—Nicholas Acciajuoli—Boccaccio—Maria of Sicily—Castel Nuovo—Domestic Architecture—Dress—Manners and Amusements—Sports and Pastimes—Character of Joanna at the Age of Fifteen—Her Beauty—Grief of Robert at her unhappy Marriage—Tumults in the Kingdom of Naples—Rebellion and Imprisonment of the Count of Minervino—Condemnation of the Pipini—Illness of Robert—His Testament and Death—Andrew and Joanna proclaimed King and Queen.

DURING the life of Robert, Naples was the general residence, and his court the common centre of re-union of all the members of the royal family, consisting, besides the king and queen and their grandchildren; of prince Galeazzo, the natural brother of the king; the widowed princesses of Taranto and Durazzo, with their sons and daughters; and the princess Maria of Sicily, the natural daughter of Robert, who had married a Neapolitan nobleman, and either resided with her father, or was his constant companion, not only at Castel Novo, but in his summer visits to Baïæ and other enchanting spots in the neighbourhood of Naples.

The court of Robert was also the residence of

many learned men, of whom the most remarkable were John Barrili and Barbatus Sulmone, compared by Petrarch to Homer and Virgil, and Nicholas Acciajuoli, his second Mæcenas, whose virtue and abilities he exhausts his eloquence to extol.¹

Nicholas Acciajuoli was the son of a Florentine merchant resident at Naples, where he had acquired riches so considerable as to enable him on various occasions to make loans to the king. These transactions first introduced Acciajuoli to the notice of the court, in which he was destined to act so conspicuous a part in the succeeding reign. Distinguished for ability as a soldier, a statesman, and a scholar, he possessed the farther advantage of a handsome figure and elegant manners. Historians have concluded, with what justice we cannot say, that the graces of his exterior principally recommended him to the favour of the princess of Taranto, who appointed him preceptor to her younger sons, Louis

¹ Il me parôit important de faire connoître un homme d'un mérite supérieur qui a joué un grand rôle en son siècle & qui va devenir le Mécène de Petrarque & remplacer ceux qui la mort lui a enlevés. La maison d'Acciajuoli, originaire de Brixia, tiroit son nom du commerce de l'acier auquel elle d'étoit addonnée. Elle se divisa en plusieurs branches que se sont répandues en Sicile, en Angleterre, en Hongrie, et jusqu'à Constantinople.—*De Sade*, t. iii. 176.—“Germe antica de' Duchi di Borgogna e del reggio ceppo di Francia.” *Nob. d'Ital.* t. ii. 702.

and Philip. When the elder of his pupils was about sixteen or seventeen years of age, he was sent at the head of a body of five hundred lancers on a military expedition into Calabria; on which occasion the king appointed Acciajuoli his governor, with unlimited authority. The friendship formed between them at this period, lasted during the life of Louis of Taranto, and realized the story of Mentor and Telemachus, though it is said that both, in the end, corrupted by prosperity, departed from the strict temperance of virtue.

Another Florentine, equally distinguished for a prepossessing exterior and engaging manner, superior in genius and celebrity, resided at this period in obscurity at Naples, only attracting the notice of the royal family by occasional visits to the king's library, to which he had access by the favour of the librarian, Paul of Perugia. The reader will already have supplied the name of *Boccaccio*!

This celebrated genius had for some years resided at Naples, ostensibly, in obedience to his father's will, occupied in commercial pursuits, but really bound to that capital by the facilities it afforded for the gratification of his own invincible passion for literature. The honours which Petrarch received at the court of Naples roused all the emulation of his nature, "but with so little envy, that he ever acknowledged him his master, and felt for him unfeigned love and veneration."

Resolved, like him, to devote his talents to the acquisition of fame, he took for the subject of his writings Maria of Sicily, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the king, whose name would be unknown to history but for his works.²

² It is curious to compare the description given by Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, of the figure of the three women whose names they have transmitted to posterity; the portraits here given were drawn during the lives of their mistresses; those of Dante and Petrarch, after the death of Beatrice and Laura, are of a higher order; Boccaccio outlived his love, but not the object of it, therefore no tender regrets give ideal beauties to his portrait.

DANTE.

Io miro i crespi e gli biondi capegli,
De' quali ha fatto per me rete amore, &c.
Poi guardo l'amorosa e bella bocca
La spaziosa fronte, e il vago piglio
Li bianchi denti, e il dritto naso, e il ciglio,
Polito e brun tal che dipinto pare, &c.—
Soave va a guisa di un bel pavoue
Diritta sopra se come una grua.

Canzoni.—See *Ginguené's Hist. Lit.* t. i. 460.

PETRARCH.

Onde tolse Amor l'oro, e di qual vena
Per far due trecce bionde? e 'n quali spine
Colse le rose? e 'n qual piaggia le brine
Tenere e fresche; e diè lor polso, e lena?
Onde le perle, in ch'ei frange, ed affrena
Dolci parole, oneste, e pellegrine?
Onde tante bellezze, e sì divine
Di quella fronte più che 'l ciel serena?
Da quali Angeli mosse, e di qual sfera
Quel celeste cantar, che tai disface

Boccaccio's admiration of this princess can scarcely be deemed what we might call a spontaneous engagement of the affections. The time, the circumstances, all combine to discredit the idea. Three days after the departure of Petrarch for his coronation, whilst Boccaccio's imagination was still exalted by the circumstance, he found himself on the eve of the same festival, in a church of the same name as that in which Laura had first appeared to her lover's view, and we can scarcely

Di che m'avanza omai da disfar poco ?
 Di qual sol nacque l'alma luce altera
 Di que begli occhi ond' io ho guerra e pace,
 Che mi cuocono 'l cor in ghiaccio e 'n foco.

Sonnet 215.

BOCCACCIO.

“ La Fiammetta, gli cui capelli eran crespi, lunghi & d'oro & sopra gli candidi & delicati homeri ricadenti & il viso ritondetto con un colore vero di bianchi gigli & di vermiglie rose mescolati, tutto splendido, con due occhi in testa, che parevan d'un falcon pelegrino e con un boccuccia picolina, le cui labbra parevan due rubinetti ; sorridendo rispose.”

Decamerone Giornata IV.

Beatrice, with her fair hair, dark eye-brow, strait nose, white teeth, spacious forehead, fine countenance, and *peacock-like* walk, is a noble picture of the majestic mistress of Dante. Laura is wholly undefined, and her description might suit almost any lovely woman. But the Maria of Boccaccio seems to smile gaily in your face. Her bright ringlets falling on her fair and delicate shoulders, her round rosy laughing face, her little ruby mouth, and her eyes like those of a wandering falcon, depict her with all the truth and nature of the modern school, you cannot doubt the likeness, and vainly seek to equal it.

doubt that he sought amongst the assembled beauties (unconsciously perhaps) the distinguished fair one who was to reign the lady of his thoughts, the mistress of his heart :—his eyes were attracted by the exquisite beauty of Maria of Sicily, and at the shrine of her charms he consecrated the offspring of his genius.³

Almost every married lady of rank was in these times the avowed and exclusive object of the admiration of some man celebrated, either for poetical talent or military accomplishments, and such a lover was almost as indispensable an appendage to her rank as the coronet which adorned her brow.¹ The compositions of Boc-

³ Petrarch thus elegantly alludes to the season when he first saw Laura :—

Isaldava il sol già l'uno et l'altro corno
Del tauro ; e la fanciulla di Titone
Correa gelata al suo antico soggiorno.

Triumpho d'Amore, Capitolo 1.

⁴ The humility of these slaves of the fair, and the exalted ideas they entertained of the sentiment which inspired them, may be gathered from the following lines of some of the immediate predecessors of Dante :—

“ Onde humil priego voi, viso gioioso,
Che non vi gravi e non vi sia pesanza
S'eo son di voi fedele e amoroso.”—The Dante of
F. na.—*Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie*, t. i, 432.

“ Al cor gentil i par sempre amore
Sì come augello in selva e la verdura

caccio quickly declared his passion, and consequently admitted him, not only to the society of his mistress, but soon after to that of “*Fair Jane, young and innocent*,” then in her fourteenth year, “Whose cultivated mind, at a later period, says, a genius not inferior to his own, appreciated all his merit.”^s

Non fe amore anzi che gentil core
 Ne gentil core anzi ch' amor natura.
 Ch' adesso com' fu 'l sole
 Si tosto lo splendore fue lucente
 Ne fue davanti al sole :
 E prende amore in gentillezza luoco
 Così propriamente
 Com' il calore in clarità del fuoco.
 Fuoco d'amore in gentil cor s'apprende
 Come vertute in pietra preziosa :
 Che da la stella valor non discende
 Anzi che 'l sol la faccia gentil cosa,
 Amor per tal ragion sta in cor gentile,
 Per qual lo fuoco in cima del doppiero :
 Splende al suo diletto clar sottile;
 Non li staria altra guisa, tanto è fiero.”

Guido Guinezzelli—Ibid.

^s “Let us not forget that Petrarch and Boccaccio have celebrated the unfortunate Jane of Naples,” says Voltaire, in speaking of the superior geniuses who rendered Italy illustrious in this age,—“whose cultivated mind appreciated all their merit, and who, ~~was~~ even one of their disciples.”—*Essai sur les Mœurs*, t. iv, 188.—De Sade cavils with Voltaire for calling Joanna the pupil of Petrarch and Boccaccio; whether the latter was ever her preceptor in the common sense of the word, we can neither affirm nor deny; Voltaire evidently speaks in that ge-

The frank and noble manners of Boccaccio, and the intelligence of his conversation, rendered him the favourite associate of the royal family in general, to whose palaces he had free access at all times ; a rapid succession of romances in verse and prose, flowed from his pen at the command of Maria of Sicily, founded chiefly on stories of romantic adventure, related for her amusement in his presence. That work which has immortalized her name and his, belongs to a later period and will then be treated of.

The king and queen, with the duke and duchess of Calabria, and the young princess, Maria, principally resided at this time, at Castel Novo, an edifice, which uniting the mixed character of palace and fortress, necessary to the residence of a sovereign in this unsettled age, possessed the regal grandeur characteristic of the residence of the monarch in peace with the strength necessary to his security in war. This castle stands on the sea shore, and was originally built by Charles of Anjou, from the designs of Nicolas of Pisa, at the entreaty of Beatrice of Provence, whose gay spirit felt depressed in the gloomy walls of the castle of Capua, built by the Swabian princes. The son and grandson of Charles and Beatrice enlarged and ornamented this favourite residence,

neral sense in which all the enlightened among their contemporaries, were the scholars and disciples of these two eminent men.

and the latter assembled in its halls many fragments of ancient sculpture, which he employed agents to purchase at Rome from the degenerate nobles, whom Petrarch reproaches with selling the magnificent remains of the works of their ancestors to adorn "*indolent Naples*." The castle communicated with extensive gardens and with the mole which formed the port of Naples, and which was the favourite scene of the slow and splendid cavalcades of the junior members of the royal family and the nobility, and which is still the favourite resort of the populace of Naples on festivals and holidays.

A considerable degree of magnificence began now to distinguish the interior ornaments of the residences of the great, especially in the south of Europe. The walls were hung with velvet, satin, or damask, or painted in a regular series of stories from Scripture, or from the innumerable romances then in vogue, and the windows were frequently glazed with that brilliant painted glass which modern art has vainly endeavoured to emulate.⁶

⁶ The celebrated painter, Giotto, was employed by Robert to ornament both the sacred and secular buildings of Naples; on one occasion he desired him to paint an allegorical picture of the kingdom itself. The ingenious artist brought the king the figure of an ass with a pack-saddle on his back and another at his feet, which he is smelling to, and seems anxious to change for the one he is already loaded with. The king smiling at the

Whilst the walls of palaces were thus sumptuously decorated, the floors were generally neglected. When carpets were used they were of silk or velvet, corresponding with the hangings; but these were rare, and spread partially, in the oriental fashion, for the comfort of individuals of rank.⁷ The brick or marble floors were generally strewed (at least in summer) with rushes or odoriferous herbs, or the flower of the yellow broom when in season, which thence became the emblem of humility.⁸ Vases of flowers were also a favour-

conceit, acknowledged the justice of the satire; the fickle Neapolitans having been ever ready to change their rulers, and prone to regret them when changed.

⁷ Froissart, in speaking of the expedition of John, duke of Lancaster, into Spain, in conjunction with the king of Portugal, says, that their apartments were as comfortably carpeted as if they had been in London, or at Lisbon. In another place, he says, the count de Foix's apartment was hung with green boughs, and strewed with rushes, "for it was summer"—thus it appears that the rush or herb-strewed floor we so often read of, was frequently on account of the season.

⁸ Fulk, earl of Anjou, grandfather to Henry II of England, bore the broom-branch in his penitential pilgrimage to the holy land, hence the name of Plantagenet, from the *Planta genista*, descended to our kings. When St. Louis married Margaret of Provence, he instituted an order of knighthood, but in token of his humility adopted the broom-flower, with the motto "*Humiles exaltat*." The collar and cross were extremely beautiful. The broom-flower enamelled yellow and green according to nature, alternated with the golden fleur-de-lis on an azure and white lozenge fastened by a golden chain, a cross flory of gold and azure.

rite ornament of both their eating and sleeping apartments, as appears from the Decameron; and Petrarch in one of his sonnets compares Laura to a vase of gold, filled with white and red roses *fresh culled by virgin hands*. With less elegant taste, gold and silver plate embossed or enchased with elaborate designs, was ostentatiously displayed on buffets, under canopies of cloth of gold or silver. Mirrors of great beauty fabricated at Venice were much esteemed, and occasionally lent their useful aid to the ladies' toilet. The beds of the great were placed in alcoves ascended by steps, and the hangings and counterpanes were embroidered in gold.

But the chief magnificence of the great was displayed in their own personal attire, which varying in fashion from day to day, and differing in every different capital, may be described as ludicrous or splendid according to the scene or occasion chosen.

Of the male sex, some wore party-coloured dresses, made short and tight; others long robes trailing in the dirt; but the mantles and robes of ceremony were always long and flowing, and the ground of a single colour, usually purple or crimson. The French fashion, generally adopted in Italy in 1342, Villani states to have been as follows:—"A tight and short vest which could not be put on without assistance, being laced behind, a girdle of leather like the girth of a horse

with a splendid buckle and tongue, and a magnificent purse or pouch in the German fashion. The hood in the fashion of a buffoon, with capes descending to the middle, or lower, with his hood and mantle adorned with quantities of embroidery and fringes. The bands of the hood are so long as to reach the ground, and are occasionally wrapped round the head to keep out the cold ; they wear their beards long and flowing, to appear more terrific to their enemies in war. The cavaliers wear a surcoat or robe tight above the girdle, and the ends of the sleeves touching the ground, bordered with ermine or miniver."

The loose hanging sleeves were adopted by the Italian ladies from these surcoats, and both sexes wore girdles, coronets, and collars (or carcanets as they were called) of gold, silver, or gems, the women also wearing pendants in their ears. If to the dress of the male sex, described by the Florentine historian, we add the shoes with toes so long as to be fastened to the knees with gold chains, and carved at the extreme point with the representation of a church window, a bird, or some fantastic device, the dress of the head and feet will throw the whole figure into a sufficiently ridiculous masquerade. These long-toed shoes are said to have been invented by Fulk, count of Anjou, to hide an excrescence on one of his feet." The clergy preached against the

* These shoes are mentioned by William of Malmesbury,

preposterous fashion with as much vehemence and as little success as they did against more serious errors, on the idea that it was contrary to the Scripture, which says, no man by taking thought can add a cubit to his stature; but this text might, with more justice, have been applied to the high-heeled shoes, or the high conical caps with streamers of silk falling to the ground with which it was the pleasure of the diminutive amongst the fair sex to add to their stature. This, however, was not the only artifice of the toilet which they were accused of practising; many used white and red paint, others wore false hair, or coloured their own with saffron to imitate the golden tresses of poetry, and some amongst the Southern beauties, whose locks, too obstinately sable for this latter expedient, wore thick fringes of white and yellow silk hanging over their faces.

An extract from the sumptuary laws made against the Florentine ladies shortly after they lost their fair advocate, Maria of Valois, will give the best idea of the splendid dress of this period. “The ladies of Florence having exceeded in superfluous ornaments of crowns, or garlands of gold or silver, and of pearls and of precious stones, and coifs, and nets, and braids of pearls, and other costly ornaments for the head; and in in describing the extravagant dress of the court of William Rufus.

like manner robes slashed with various silks and cloths, embroidered with silk in various manners, with fringes of pearls, and small buttons of gold and silver, and clasps of pearl and precious stones at the breast, with various devices and letters; it is therefore ordered that no lady shall wear a crown or garland of gold, nor silver, nor pearls, nor precious stones, nor glass, nor silk, nor any similitude of a crown *even of painted paper*; nor coifs, nor nets, nor braids of any kind, except the most simple. In the like manner are forbidden slashed, embroidered, or painted robes, marked with any sort of figure except the pattern of the loom, and all stripes or checks exceeding two colours—all ornaments of gold or silver, or silk or precious stone, or even enamel or glass—nor may they wear more than two rings on the finger, nor any leathern girdle or other cincture, with more than twelve plates of silver. No lady may wear her robe more than two yards long behind, or her cape or hood more than one.” Taffeta, Camlet, and Calamanco, were further interdicted, and all robes embroidered with silk were destroyed by these rigid legislators, who seem, with their great poet, to have regretted the simplicity of more ancient times.^{10 11}

¹⁰ Florence within her ancient limit mark,
Which calls her still to matin prayer, and noon,
Was chaste and sober, and abode in peace.
She had no armlets, and no head tires then,

De Sade observes, in a note to his memoirs of Petrarch, that diamonds were not worn in dress

No purpled dames, no zone that caught the eye
More than the person did

.....
I saw Bellincion Berti walk abroad
In leathern girdle and a clasp of bone ;
And *with no artful colouring on her cheek*
His lady leave the glass. The sons I saw
Of Nerli and of Vecchio well content
With unrob'd jerkin. And their good dames handling
The spindle and the flax ; O! happy they !
Each sure of burial in her native land,
And none left desolate a-bed for France !*
One wak'd to tend the cradle, hushing it
With sounds that lull'd the parents infancy ;
Another with her maidens drawing off
The tresses from the distaff, lectured them
Old tales of Troy, and Fesole, and Rome.—*Dante.*

¹¹ The Indian shawl was a favourite article of dress with the ladies of this age. It was first introduced into Europe by the Crusaders. Edward Vere, earl of Oxford, is said to have given queen Elizabeth the first pair of embroidered gloves ever brought over to England. Considering the commerce of England, and the magnificence of the higher order of females, it seems strange that the elegancies of the South should so tardily have found their way into this country in the middle ages. The loss of one of Laura's gloves, embroidered with gold and silk, furnished a sonnet to Petrarch. In a remonstrance to Pope Innocent VI, on the extravagant dress of his times, he speaks of horned hoods and beaked shoes, and of needles with ivory heads, used by ladies in their hair, a near approach to the moderr pin.

* Where their husbands went in pursuit of gain.

at this period, as the art of cutting them was lost till revived by a jeweller of Bruges in the reign of Louis XII; and certainly pearls seem to constitute the extreme of magnificence, in the chronicles of Froissart. But diamonds are so often mentioned by other writers, and especially by poets and writers of romance, that we must in this case suppose the word to be used as a general term for any very brilliant or precious gem, or for jewels in general; for De Sade himself elsewhere says, that Joanna, in the extremity of her fortunes, sold all her *diamonds* in Provence to supply her immediate necessities. Among gems the superstition of the age endowed the amethyst with many wonderful properties. On that stone the Decalogue was supposed to have been written; and at the nuptials of the virgin, the ring presented to her by Joseph was also of amethyst. Hence this stone had acquired such repute for its virtues, that it was believed to possess the power of allaying tempests, and that if ground and mixed in wine it would secure the friendship of princes, and preserve whomsoever drank it, from the effects of poison and intoxication ever after. From these ideas we may conclude, that from the rarity of the gem this experiment was too costly to be often tried.¹²

¹² Livre des Sortileges, &c. by Leonard Vair, a Spanish doctor in theology; translated in the commencement of the 16th century, by Julien Bandon Angevin.

The manners of this period differed more from those of modern times, in the hours then observed, than in any other circumstance. Rising with the sun, after matin prayers the first meal was served about the third hour of the natural day according to the season, and the second at the ninth. But this general rule was not unfrequently departed from in the castles of the great, according to the fancy of the host. The count de Foix, whose court has been celebrated by Froissart as the most perfect model of chivalric courtesy and magnificence, rose like a modern noble, at noon, and supped, or as we would call it, dined, at midnight; for as but two meals in the day were ever served, we may call them at will, breakfast and dinner, or breakfast and supper. At the midnight meal of the count de Foix, a watchman on the tower of his castle sounded a trumpet, which assembled all the strangers of the hostelleries of the town who were invited to the repast. Twelve servants preceded the count to the banquetting-hall, each bearing a torch, his brothers placed the dishes on his table, and his sons carved for him and made the *credence* (or tasted) of the viands they served him with.¹³

Offices that we should deem a degradation to any above the rank of a menial servant, were, in the middle ages, performed by youths of the highest birth, whilst serving as squires, prepara-

¹³ Froissart.

tory to their receiving the order of knighthood, without which no rank conferred the privileges of honour.

The young squires spread the tables for the guests, and when the knights and ladies retired from the festive board, after eating their own meal they cleared the hall for dancing, or some other general amusement in which they were permitted to join.¹⁴ They arranged the sleeping apartments of their lords, and their male guests; made their beds, and attended them to their chambers after having served them with *the wines* and confections, which were understood to be the signal of separation. *The wines*, as this evening-cordial was called, was a mixed beverage, compounded of wine, spices, and honey, according to the ingredients called *claret*, *hypocras*, or *pimento*.

From the offices assigned to the high-born squire, we may conclude that female servants were rare in the feudal castle, and seldom employed except in the apartments of ladies: princesses were personally served by women of rank. "In the courts of kings, princes, and dukes, and their wives," says an ancient treatise on the etiquette of this and the following century,¹⁵

¹⁴ St. Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*.

¹⁵ "Les Honneurs de la Cour," written between the years 1488—1491, by Eleanor d'Poitiers, viscountess of Furnès, partly from her own observations, partly from her mother's in-

“ there must be some lord or knight who is called *knight of honour*, and some lady who is called *lady of honour*, and the damsels of the house must be called *maids of honour*, and the matron who has charge of them, *mother of the maids of honour*. The gentlemen of such house are to be called, one butler, another steward, another carver, and another *serving varlet* (probably groom of the chambers or chamberlain), and should have canopies over the tables where they eat. The children of this house must be called my lord John, or Peter, as their names may be, and the females ladies. The relations of queens instructions, and the great book of the customs of France, compiled by the countess of Namur, about the year 1388.—St. Palaye, *Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie*. The court of Naples is particularly specified by the viscountess of Furnès, towards the conclusion of her memoir. “Ce sont les honneurs ordonnez preservez et gardez ez Allemagnes en l'Empire, aussi en royaume de France, en Naples, en Italie, et en tout autres royaumes et pays ou l'on doibt user de raison.

“ Et n'y a propos de ceux ou celles qui mettent en avant que les choses susdites *se faisoient en ce temps-là*, et que maintenant c'est une autre monde, telles allegations ne sont pas suffisantes pour rompre les choses anciennes et ordonnées et ne les doibt on estimer pour ce qu'il ne doibt pas faire.”

The viscountess of Furnès belonged to the court of the parents of Mary of Burgundy, who carried this etiquette into the court of Austria, and her descendants adopted it in Spain, where it was still observed in the 18th century, though then abolished in that of France, from which it had originally been copied by all the branches of that royal house. In Burgundy, Naples, Hungary, &c.

and princes, if of royal lineage, must be addressed by them, as ‘fair uncle, fair aunt, fair sister,’ or brother, according to affinity.¹⁶ These customs are not to be observed in houses of a lower degree; the chief lady of a countess, viscountess, or baroness, is to be called her *lady companion*, not lady of honour; the damsels of the house her gentlewomen, not maids of honour; and the lady who governs them must be called by her name, Margaret or Mary, and not entitled *mother of the maids*; and no gentleman must receive the title of butler, steward, or *serving varlet*.

“Nor in such house is any *credence* to be made of the wine or meats, nor are the articles which are handed to the lord or lady to be kissed, nor the tables to be covered with canopies, nor are their children to be called like those of princes, nor their relations addressed but as ‘my uncle or cousin,’ according to affinity; nor are they to bear chapeaux or circles of gold in their arms, nor fleurons which exceed the border, nor spotted ermines, nor black genettes, nor are they to walk on a line with those of royal blood, nor to wear garments of napped cloth of gold of the richest kinds, for such cloth of gold is reserved for princes; but it must suffice them to wear cloth of gold of a less costly kind, otherwise there would

¹⁶ The preposives *beau* and *belle* are thus generally rendered, but they might also be rendered noble as they are often so used by the early poets of France and Italy.

be no difference in their garments and those of princes, nor are they to use cloth of gold in the furniture of their beds or houses, it must suffice them to use velvet, damask, and other cloths of silk.

“ They must not be served at table by a gentleman with a napkin on his shoulder, but only one round his arm. Their bread is not to be put in a napkin folded up on the table, but only laid on the table with the knives, and covered with an unfolded napkin. Their seneschal is not to carry a wand of office, nor are they to have two cloths at once on their tables, nor are the trains of their robes to be borne by *women*, but only by some gentleman or page; nor are they to have gentlemen or horses without number, but only as many as their rank permits. Lords and ladies of sovereign fiefs are accounted in the rank of princes.

“ The table of a prince or princess must be covered with a table-cloth and a lay-over. A covered salt-cellar must be placed in the middle of the table, and the bread near it wrapped up in a napkin. The trenchers of silver, four and no more, must be set up against the salt-cellar, and two small basins of silver (for pottage) must stand at the foot of the salt-cellar, above the plate which holds the pieces of bread ready cut to make the credence of each dish as it is set on the table. On the salt-cellar must be a towel, folded a palm in breadth, extending in length across both sides of the table. In the plate which

holds the napkin with the bread, there must be another to wipe the hands of the prince or princess. The goblet must be covered and placed at the upper end of the table, and a cup set near it to make the credence of the wine."

The chief luxury of the table was the intermeats, which, on common occasions, were delicate dishes; such as *blanc-manger*, omelets, and in Italy macaroni.¹⁷ But at public banquets, by the intermeats, were understood certain entertainments and pageants, introduced in the hall between the courses, for the amusement of the guests. Representations of battles and sieges were performed, allegorical personages introduced, and minstrels, dancers, tumblers, and jugglers, vied with each other in exercising their talents for the amusement of the assembly; besides the common exhibitions of licking red-hot iron; keeping up four or five knives or balls in the air at once; catching a lance on the nose, or

¹⁷ In one of the tales of the Decameron, Maso del Saggio succeeds in persuading the simple Calandrino, that there is a country where they tie up the vines with sausages; where there is a mountain of scraped Parmesan cheese; and where people live who have nothing else to do but dress omelets and macaroni, to serve them in capon broth, and throw them on the ground for whomsoever would condescend to pick them up.

Decamerone Giornata 8, Nov. III.

"He couthe roste, boile, grille. and frie,
And make mostries, and well bake a pie,
For blanch-manger that made he with the best."—*Chaucer.*

balancing timbrels on the ends of the fingers. The jugglers seem also to have occasionally practised optical deceptions.

At public festivals dancing generally succeeded to the banquet. All the dances of this period seem to have been of slow measure, so that the customary expression of holding a *solemn ball* was more appropriate than it at first sounds. The *ballad* was the favourite of the Italians. This word which we now use only to designate the words of a peculiar species of song, is derived from the Italian *ballare*, to dance, and originally signified a dance accompanied by a chaunt. This dance was probably pantomimic, exhibiting the story of the accompanying verse, by that expressive gesticulation in which the Italians of all ages have excelled every other people. In the solemn measure of the day, not only kings and queens, nobles and ministers; but even prelates, legates, and cardinals, were wont to join on occasions of unusual festivity.

In private society, singing, playing on some musical instrument, and the art of narrating stories of mirthful or romantic adventure, were accomplishments commonly possessed by the youth of both sexes in Southern Europe.¹⁸ No

¹⁸ The construction of Aristotle's Alphabet, as, "I love my love with an A, because she is artless," and so on through the Alphabet, was a favourite exercise of ingenuity. The unmarried youth of both sexes practised certain harmless incantations not

less than forty ways of playing chess are said to have been known. Backgammon, under the ancient name of *tables*, and many other games of chance were much practised, and towards the close of this century cards were invented at Paris.

These were the amusements of the hall or chamber, the more active sports of the young squires and pages were quoits, ball, prison-bars, or the game of base;¹⁹ shooting at the popinjay hazel wand or rose garland; tilting with hollow canes; running at the pell or quintain.

The quintain, called by the Italians the *Saracen*, was a wooden figure of an armed warrior, with a

unlike those still practised in Scotland on Hallowe'en. An apple peeled and thrown over the shoulder, formed the initial letter of the future lover's name—grain sown with certain forms would be reaped by the lover only—if nuts were burned in the name of two lovers, their manner of burning would show their ardour and constancy. On the feast of kings an olive-leaf being gathered and thrown into the fire, if the lover thought on were constant, it would jump out, if not it would remain quiescent.

¹⁹ There is nothing more antique than the sports of children. Villani describes the game known in England, as oranges and lemons, or almonds and raisons, as played by the Italian children of the 14th century, under the name of Guelphs and Ghibelines! Their Roman ancestors probably called it Romans and Carthaginians. The peculiar habits of nations are shown in trifles;—are not the masticating propensities the English have been accused of, to be discerned in the modern names of this antique sport of infancy

wooden sabre in his right hand and a wooden shield on his left arm.²⁰ The figure turned on a pivot with facility, the attacking horseman was required to direct his blows with great adroitness between the eyes, on the forehead or the nose ; if he struck wide of these points, especially on the shield, the mimic Saracen turned round with great velocity, and inflicted a disgraceful blow on the back, which excited much laughter amongst the spectators. These were preparations for the more dangerous diversions of jousts and tournaments held on the birth, marriage, or coronation, of princes.

The Italian lady of this period did not, like the more hardy beauty of the north, follow the masculine sports of hunting, hawking, and fishing. "I write," says Boccaccio in the preface to his *Decameron*, "for the solace and counsel of ladies in love ; who, confined to the narrow limits of their own apartments by the peculiar circumstances of their sex, and by the commands of their husbands and fathers, are condemned to revolve continually the same consuming thoughts, rendered more intolerable by shame and concealment, and which, without some means of diversion, would grow into incurable melancholy. For others of the female sex, the needle, the spindle, and the reel, may suffice ; and as for the male sex, so many recreations are open to them,

²⁰ Strutt's, *Sports and Pastimes*.

in hunting, hawking, and fishing, in seeking news and following the various occupations afforded by the management of affairs, or the pursuits of commerce, that they can, at any moment, find a new channel into which they may divert the current of their thoughts."

The amusements and manners of warm climates remain nearly the same from age to age. The amusements of Joanna in the fourteenth century differed little from those of a daughter of Sicily of the present day, and their points of difference are all in favour of the elder princess. The musicians of the modern court of Naples may, indeed, excel the minstrels of the halls of Castel Novo, but the effusions of the improvisatore do not surpass in interest the tale of the troubadour;²¹ and the monotonous *corso* is surely not comparable to the splendid though almost equally slow cavalcade on the Mole of Naples, in which the form of Joanna, attended by the junior members of the royal family, and the knights and ladies of the court, became familiar to the eyes, and dear to the hearts, of the thronging populace. If we ascend to pleasures of a higher order, a princess loving learning like her, would not now easily find at the court of Naples, a sage Robert, a Barrili, an Acciajuoli, a Zanobio di Strada, a Petrarch, or a Boccaccio.

²¹ The troubadours frequently challenged each other to improviso combats in verse.—See *Tiraboschi*, t. iv. lib. 3, parte 2.

A brief space of fifteen years of happiness was permitted to Joanna, to enjoy these various delights, ere the storms which had been so long gathering on all sides burst with overwhelming violence upon her devoted head. Lively, bold, and prompt, in her intellectual powers; cheerful, generous, confiding, and affectionate, in her disposition, she possessed all the qualities most natural and most engaging in youth: and as yet happy in the protection and idolizing fondness of her grandfather, in the society of her sister, in the real or feigned attachment of all around her, she enjoyed, in happy unconsciousness of the future, the magnificence befitting her rank, and the vivacious pleasures of her age; now listening with filial reverence to the lessons of the royal sage, or poring over the wisdom of antiquity; now lending a pleased attention to the strains of the minstrel, or leading the graceful dance, the splendid cavalcade, or the games and pastimes of her young companions. All historians have concurred in extolling the exquisite beauty of her person, the eloquence of her speech, and the majestic graces of her air and manner. Boccaccio was so impressed with the exalted qualities of her mind, and the beneficence of her disposition, that he gives but five words to describe that personal beauty to which alone many succeeding writers have done justice—yet these five words convey, that she was “fair and goodly to look

on," of a graceful presence, of a cheerful and beautiful countenance. Brantome, the enthusiastic admirer of every princess of French extraction, maintains that her beauty far exceeded that of Petrarch's Laura. " Her portrait, which is still to be seen, shows," says he, " that she was more angelic than human. I saw it at Naples, in a number of places, where it is treasured with the greatest care. I have seen it also in France, in the cabinet of our kings and queens, and of many of our noble ladies. Certainly this was a beautiful princess, whose countenance displayed great sweetness, with a beautiful majesty. She is painted in a magnificent robe of crimson velvet, loaded with gold and silver lace, and embroidery. This robe is almost in the exact fashion our ladies wear now on days of great solemnity, which is called a *Boulonnaise*, with a great quantity of large tags of gold; ²² on her head she wears a bonnet on a cushion. In brief, this fine portrait of this lady represents her as all *beauty, sweetness, and true majesty*, so well, that one becomes enamoured of her mere image."

Discretion has been pronounced, by high authority, to be the better part of valour, and perhaps Brantome felt, that expression was the better part of beauty, and therefore gives no description of the features of Joanna. A coarse engraving in the vo-

²² The robes worn by ladies of rank were commonly closed with ribbands with golden tags at the end, which were tied down the whole length of the garment at regular distances.

luminous history of Provence by Bouche is worthy of particular attention. The portraits given by this historian are evidently genuine ; he does not find heads for all the princes whose reigns he relates, and declares, he considers it as great a fraud to invent a portrait, as an historical document. The heads of the men of the series are fine ; those of the women do not give the idea of feminine beauty, and convey rather a ridiculous idea of the countenances of those they represent, with the exception of that of Joanna herself, which is, however, rather a study for the physiognomist, than the admirer of mere beauty of feature ; yet even in this coarse resemblance, the *sweet and true majesty* of her countenance is preserved ; the contour of the face is oval, the chin beautifully rounded, a sweet smile of habitual benignity dwells on the mouth, and seems just about to separate the full, but not thick, lips ; the nostril is delicately formed, the nose slightly aquiline, the eyes large, soft, and full, not prominent, but beautifully set in the head, and the calm reflecting majesty of the superb brow and capacious forehead, which rises above them, bears testimony to the justice of Boccaccio's praise. The expression of the whole countenance is open, mild, and beneficent ; unconscious and unsuspecting of treachery, no secondary expression of any unhallowed feeling lurks in ambush, no dark lines of cruelty or revenge deform its native nobleness.²³

Whilst Joanna daily grew in beauty and talent, increasing years but rendered the deficiencies of the character of Andrew more apparent. His

²³ One of the most beautiful pictures in the world is that by Leonardi da Vinci in the Doria gallery at Rome, which is maintained, by the Italian artists, to be a portrait of Joanna, done from one of the originals of her own times. “Il creduto ritratto della Reina Giovanna ornato di vaga architettura.”—*Lanzi, Storia Pittorica della Italia*. If this be, indeed, her likeness (which some foreigners have disputed), the assertion of Brantome becomes almost credible. “A’ la voir peinte le monde s’en rend ravi et amoureux de la peinture comme j’en ay veu aucuns & comme aussi autrefois ont esté aucun de son naif;” for nothing can be more exquisitely lovely than the form of the features, more angelic than the expression of the countenance, or more graceful and elegant than the general contour and air of the figure. From this portrait it appears that her eyes and hair were brown, the latter of a very rich colour, pale enough to fall within the poetical appellation of golden hair, but dark enough for expression. In those general points this picture, of course, resembles Joanna, or all Italy would not have called it her likeness. An endeavour was made to procure a copy of this exquisite painting for the present work, but without success, as the Roman nobility, in general, refuse to suffer their pictures to be copied. The subjoined reply of the eminent artist who was applied to on the subject, is characteristic and interesting:—

“Ricevei con piacere la sua lettera in data di 17 Marzo scorso, nella quale conosco chiaramente che ella mi conserva nella sua memoria. Mi dispiace pero che il disegno della Regina Giovanna da lei richiestomi sono nella impossibilita di farlo, e questo non gia per mia volontà, ma perche una gran parte dei nostri principi Romani, eccettuato Borghesi e qualcun altro, si sono tutti riuniti nello stesso detestabile sentimento di non volere accordare il permesso di copiare li quadri esistenti

torpid nature was not even alive to the common amusements of youth. In all things the victim of a stupid sluggishness, though guileless and in-offensive, he was despised by the learned for his ignorance, and contemned by the valiant for his indolence, in an age when excellence in martial exercises was deemed indispensable to every man above the rank of a peasant. Resembling the sloth, he seemed to have no enjoyment but that of the palate, and thereby incurred the dangerous contempt of those who hated his nation, or envied his superior station.

Every instance of the weakness of Andrew in- nelle loro gallerie. Io credo che se si domandasse la ragione di ciò ad essi stessi, non la saprebbero dare, e gli assicuro che se mi trovasse in Inghilterra vorrei scrivere e pubblicare un opuscolo contro di essi, mostrandogli il torto grande che da un tal rifiuto fanno ad essi stessi, ed a tanti artisti a cui senza alcun loro danno potrebbero essergli di giovamento. In sequela di questa negativa mi sono dato il carico per vedere se il sudetto ritratto era stato inciso; ed ho veduto che l'incisione non esiste; così anche se in Roma ne poteva trovare qualche copia dipinta o disegnata: e sopra tutto mi lusingavo che esistesse una fatta da un mio amico in tempo del governo Franceze, ma il medesimo mi disse che lo aveva venduto ad un signor Tedesco dieci anni sono. Solo di tante ricerche ho potuto rilevare che a Parigi, si è non so in qual galleria, un ritratto di questà Regina dipinto dall' immortale Raffaello, onde se ella crede potrà darne la commissione a qualche artista in Parigi, mentre qui nella galleria *Doria* è impossibile di copiarlo."

Since this work went to press, the present Frontispiece was obtained from the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, where two original portraits of Joanna are in good preservation.

creased the unavailing regrets of the king, and the audacious licentiousness of the nobles, who, seeing the life of Robert drawing to a close, with the prospect of the minority of a female sovereign whose consort possessed no noble or martial qualities, began to wage continual war with each other; every town became the scene of tumult and bloodshed, which the governors of the provinces were wholly unable to prevent.²⁴

The most remarkable of these petty quarrels, and one fatal in its consequences in the succeeding reign, was that between the House of Marra and John Pipino, count of Minervino,²⁵ who, with his brothers, the counts of Lucera and Potenza, besieged the count of Marra in his castle in the town of that name. The Pipini were descended from a notary public, who, in the reign of Charles of Anjou and his son, had been enriched by the plunder of the Saracens of Lucera; and the present generation, by marriages formed with some of the richest heiresses of the kingdom, had acquired power and riches which rendered them formidable to the barons, whose fiefs adjoined their own. The cause of the House of Marra was espoused by Robert San Severino, Raimond de Baux, the count of Trelice, son-in-law of Philippa the Catanese, and the count of Murcone, the husband of her grand-daughter Sancha, with others of the Neapolitan nobles allied by blood or friend-

²⁴ Costanzo. Villani.

²⁵ 1342.

ship to the count of Marra. The forces of the Pipini, chiefly composed of the bands of adventurers and malefactors which their great riches enabled them to keep in pay, were unable to withstand the chivalric valour of their opponents ; and the count of Minervino was obliged to raise the siege of the castle of Marra. The conquerors then proceeded to Naples to accuse the Pipini to the king, who cited them to appear to defend their conduct. This summons, probably dreading the credit of their enemies, they refused to obey ; on which Robert dispatched Raimond de Baux and the count of Trelice, his grand marshal, to reduce them to obedience by force of arms. They defended themselves for some time, but finding resistance unavailing, at last took the part they should have taken at first, and submitted to the jurisdiction of the king. Whether they were really guilty of the crimes laid to their charge, or whether the credit of their enemies prevailed to make them appear so, they were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and their confiscated lands were either given, or sold at a low price, to the nobles who had effected their ruin.

For the suppression of these and similar tumults, Robert was obliged to withdraw his troops from the island of Sicily, at a juncture when every thing promised the immediate reduction of the island ; and, from the same cause, he lost the territory of Lucca, which the Luccanese, of their

own accord, offered to him ; but of which, as he was unable to spare any portion of his troops which were required to suppress intestine divisions at home, the Pisans possessed themselves, notwithstanding the resistance of the Luccanese.²⁶ “The island of Sicily,” says Costanzo, “was defended at this period, not by the strength of the defenders, but by the consuming cares which troubled the heart of king Robert.” The strength of the good king was daily declining without any perceptible complaint, and his limbs wasted away without pain or suffering. Finding his end approaching in the commencement of the following year (Jan. 1343), he assembled his counselors, and in their presence dictated his testament, in which he nominated Joanna his universal heiress, not only in the kingdom of Naples, but in the counties of Provence and Piedmont, which did not necessarily follow with the crown. Her sister Maria was to succeed in default of her issue, and was bequeathed a marriage portion of thirty thousand ounces of gold, with some lands for which she was to pay homage to Joanna. To Andrew, in case he survived Joanna, he left the principality of Salerno, producing a revenue of about two thousand ounces of gold yearly, for which he was to render homage to the then king or queen.²⁷ According to a former engagement

²⁶ Costanzo.²⁷ Bouche.

with his nephew Carobert, he bequeathed the hand of Maria to Louis, the elder brother of Andrew, who had just ascended the throne of Hungary.²⁸ He probably thought, if Maria married in the kingdom of Naples, her title might prove dangerous to her sister; but this double marriage could only have increased the difficulties of the succession, the elder member of each family being respectively united to the younger of the other. The king wished to have appointed queen Sancha to the regency; but, bent on her long-cherished scheme of retiring to a convent, she refused to charge herself with an office of such importance; and therefore he contented himself with setting her name at the head of a council of regency, consisting of the following persons:—Philip of Cabessole, bishop of Cavillon, chancellor of the kingdom of Naples; Philip of Sanguincto, senechal of Provence; Geoffrey de Marsan, count of Squilazzo, high admiral; and Charles Artus, grand chamberlain of the kingdom.²⁹ These persons were to control the actions of the three minors, the duke and duchess of Calabria and the princess Maria, till

²⁸ “Item statuit et ordinavit quod Domina Maria debeat matrimonialiter contrahere cum inclyto Principe Domino Ludovico presentis Rege Ungariæ, *propter certas considerationes secretas* que ipsam Dominum Regem movent.”

Bouche, Hist. Provence, t. ii. 335.

²⁹ Costanzo, &c.

each attained the age of twenty-five; and, without their consent, all their edicts, gifts, or sales, were declared null and void. Robert finally recommended the queen, his grandchildren, and his dominions, to the care and protection of the Pope and the College of Cardinals.⁸⁰ It was at this period, above all others, that the death of Maria of Valois was an irreparable misfortune to her children; had any one person possessed an undisputed title to rule, the misfortunes which

⁸⁰ “Item statuit et mandavit, quod præfata Domina Regina (Sancia) principaliter, necnon venerabilis Episcopus Dominus Philippus Episcopus Cavallicensis, regni Siciliæ vice-cancellarius, ac magnifici viri Philippus de Sanguineto, Comes Alti fluminis, Senescallus Provinciæ, Dominus Gaufridus de Marsan Comes Squillaz, Admirallus dicti regni, ac Carolus Artus, sicut et esse debeant gubernatores, dispensatores, rectores, & administratores, vel quocunque alio modo & nomine melius censeri possunt de jure dicti illustris Domini Andreæ Ducis Calabriæ, ac præfatarum Dominarum, Domine Ducissæ & Domine Mariæ sororum, & regni & comitatum, & aliorum omnium prædictorum, quousque præfati Domini Dux & Ducissa & Maria compleverint vigesimum quintum annum. Sic equidem quod præfati Domini Dux Ducissa et Maria, nihil debeant vel possint agere, seu facere in judicio, vel extra judicium contrahendo, dando vel alienando, seu aliter quemcunque actum legitimum faciendo, quomodocunque et qualitercunque, sine expressa conscientia & assensu principaliter ipsius Domine Reginæ & aliorum administratorum, rectorum, dispensatorum, & gubernatorum prædictorum—Quod si interim usque post lapsum dictum xxv annorum secus fortè fecerint, quod ipse Dominus Rex non credit, neque interlit, ipso jure sit nullum ac prorsus vacuum & inane.”—*Bouche*, t. ii. 357.

assailed them in the contentions of opposing parties might have been prevented, and that arduous office which the age and projects of Sancha made her decline, the youth and affection of the mother would have made her happy to fill, even if she had been devoid of the natural desire of power which almost all possess.

As soon as his testament was executed, the dying king called Andrew and Joanna to his bedside, the latter of whom was only entering on her sixteenth year. They had lived hitherto in the lap of enjoyment, free from the cares which had preyed on his heart; but now, drawing aside a portion of the veil of futurity, the anxious parent displayed to their astonished and saddened gaze the dangers with which they were menaced, and the perils which surrounded their steps on every side, and endeavoured to impress on their young minds maxims which should guide their conduct towards their friends, their enemies, and their subjects. Seeing them overcome with sorrow, he gently reprov'd their grief—"What is the occasion of your tears," said he, "my death has nothing sad or lamentable; on the contrary, it is advantageous to me:—I quit a fragile throne for an eternal kingdom. Have I not lived long enough? I have almost attained the utmost term which nature has fixed for the life of man. Instead of afflicting yourselves, my children, rejoice with me." He then spoke of death to those

around him with so much eloquence and philosophy, and painted it in such softened colours, that some present declared that it was deprived of half its horrors, and that the bed of a dying sage like him was a school superior to that of the greatest philosopher. But probably his young heirs thought not so; such could be the feelings only of those whom age or custom had rendered nearly callous to scenes of human suffering and sorrow. In the early spring of joy and hope, life is too keenly enjoyed, too highly prized, to suffer the young to behold, without unutterable anguish, those they love deprived of what is to them a positive blessing. The approach of death, however, brought no terrors to the heart of the virtuous king; as soon as his worldly affairs were settled he turned his thoughts to God alone, and expired without a sigh, a tear, or groan.³¹

Three days before his death, weak as he was, he was carried to the church of St. Claire, which he had founded, and was there invested with the habit of the third order of St. Francis, in which he died. By his last will he appointed funds for the maintenance of a priest in every cathedral church throughout his dominions, to say mass daily for his soul and those of his forefathers, and ordered a prayer to be said for the same purpose in all convents and monasteries at matins and vespers.³² With judicious charity, he also

³¹ 16th Jan. 1343.

³² Bouche.

founded an hospital for the maintenance of an hundred of his servants, if any such should ever be in want. This aid the bounty of his successor left few to require, for Joanna manifested her reverence for her grandfather's memory by preferably employing those whom he had favoured or esteemed; his counsellors were her counsellors whilst any of them existed, and the last of his friends, at the age of eighty-four, held one of the most honourable offices in the kingdom.³³

The excellent Robert, "died as he had lived," says Petrarch, "speaking and acting in the same manner. If heaven had positively decreed, that he should not prevent the misfortunes which were to follow his death, it was the greatest happiness that could have happened to him, and I believe no man ever died at a more fortunate moment for himself."³⁴ Andrew and Joanna were proclaimed³⁵ *King and Queen* as soon as the funeral rites of the deceased monarch were performed.³⁶

³³ Raimond de Baux, grand chamberlain of the kingdom.

³⁴ Robert died at the age of sixty-four. Villani, who, though accurate as to what passed in Tuscany under his own eyes, is very ill-informed as to the affairs of other states, calls him eighty, though, if his elder brother, the bishop of Toulouse, had been living, who died at twenty-three, in 1296, he would only have been in his 67th year. Villani also says, that soon after Robert's death, Andrew was brought from Hungary by his mother—a gross error, as he was educated at Naples from the time of his marriage.

³⁵ 16th Jan. 1343.

³⁶ Bouche. Costanzo.

Towards the close of his life, Robert had drawn the horoscope of France and England, and discovering, by the aspect of the stars, that the French would be defeated by the English in whatever place they engaged them, he immediately dispatched a courier with the intelligence to his nephew Philip of Valois, with an earnest entreaty not to come to a pitched battle with the invaders. This admonition reached the French king on the eve of a day appointed for a general engagement, in the year 1338, but in consequence of it he drew off his forces; and for some time followed the wise counsel with success; but the battle of Creci, three years after the death of the royal astrologer, confirmed his predictions and established his prophetic fame all over Europe.³⁷

³⁷ De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.

CHAP. VI.

Forebodings of Petrarch—Friar Robert possesses himself of the Government—His Tyranny and Insolence—Further Promotion of Philippa and her Family—Supposed Intrigues of the Princess of Taranto—Petrarch's second Visit to Naples—His Description of the State of that City—Is appointed Chaplain to Joanna—His Account of the Tempest of Nov. 25, 1343—Sports of Gladiators—Liberation of the Pipini—The Duke of Durazzo carries off the Princess Maria—Queen Sancha retires to a Convent, and Dies—Joanna receives the Investiture from the Pope, to the Exclusion of Andrew—The Court of Hungary demand the Coronation of Andrew in his own Right—Bull for his Coronation, as Consort of the Queen.

“THE example of her father and grandfather, the affection of the people, rich possessions, brilliancy of youth, exquisite beauty, with every charm and accomplishment, seemed to promise the happiest reign to Jane I.”¹ So write the hasty compilers of compendiums of modern history, who represent Joanna as a sort of second Pandora, on whom science, eloquence, and beauty, had contended to bestow the richest gifts, merely to make her the bearer of a treasury of calamity

¹ Fox's translation of L'Histoire Mod. du Chevalier Méthégan.

unforeseen and unknown till the period of her accession.

Far different is the language of the penetrating Petrarch, the accurate observer of men and things, who had marked the signs of the times at the period of his visit to Naples two years before her accession, and two years after her grandfather had vainly endeavoured to remedy the evils he had brought on her and the kingdom by the Hungarian alliance, by requiring for *her alone* the allegiance of the people.

“What I have so much dreaded has happened,” says Petrarch, in writing to Barbatus Sulmone on the death of Robert, “our great king has left us! What an affliction to me, my dear Barbatus. I fear to see his death followed by all the calamities that I have predicted. My mind is but too good a prophet when it announces sinister events. The youth of the queen and her husband—the age of the queen dowager, and her projects—the dispositions and manners of the courtiers, make me fear every thing. God grant that I may be deceived in my sad presages! But I see two lambs in the midst of wolves—a monarchy without a monarch; for can we thus term a child in tutelage?”

If the council of regency had been preserved whole and unaltered exactly as the late king had appointed it, the state might still have been saved. Peace and good order attended the first measures

of the new ministers, but unfortunately deceived by the arts of Friar Robert, who, on the joint proclamation of Andrew and Joanna, as king and queen, demanded admission to the council for himself, as preceptor, and for Nicholas the Hungarian, as governor of the young king, they, by a fatal oversight, admitted them to a share in the government, thus undoing, in an hour, all the measures the late king had taken, for a series of years, for their exclusion. By a continuation of the same artifices the friar procured the admission of some of his creatures to the council, and the appointment of others to offices of trust and importance, and was thus enabled to seize the reins of government, when the unfortunate interference of Pope Clement VI cancelled the regency as appointed by the will of Robert, and nominated his legate to govern in its place in right of a peculiar clause of the investiture. The turbulent and ambitious amongst the nobles seized the opportunity of forwarding their own schemes, and would obey neither the regency nor the legate, pleading the rights of the council of regency when the legate commanded, and denying their authority when they endeavoured to enforce obedience to the papal mandates. Friar Robert, active and ambitious, governing the populace by his hypocritical pretences to superior sanctity, and working on the hopes of the mercenary and profligate among the nobles by promises of future advance-

ment, soon found himself at the head of a party powerful enough to enable him to defy both Pope and regency; and no longer keeping any measures, claimed every thing in right of Andrew alone, treated both the queen dowager and the queen regnant with the utmost insolence, and the latter, as the wife of Andrew, became, in fact, only a state prisoner in their hands; whilst the other members of the royal family, banished from court by the arrogance of the Hungarians, abandoned her to her fate, some of the princes of the blood retiring to their own fortresses to brood over schemes of revenge or aggrandizement at home, others repairing to the shores of Greece in the vain hope of establishing their title to the empire of the west by force of arms.

This first reverse of fortune was a hard trial to a princess of sixteen, who had hitherto been the object of parental fondness and courtly adulation; but what afflicted her still more was, the weak indolence of her husband, who was not less than herself the slave of the Hungarians.*

“ This monster, whom one cannot behold without horror,” says Petrarch, speaking of the des-

* Fra Roberto pigliò il governo, cacciando a poco a poco tutti i più fidati e prudenti consiglieri del Re Roberto dal consiglio, per amministrar ogni cosa a volontà; onde *la povera Regina*. che non avea più di sedici anni, era rimasta sola in nome Regina, ma in effetto prigioniera di questi barbari, e quel che più l'affliggeva era la dappocaggine del marito, il quale non meno di lei stava soggetto agli Ungari.

potism exercised by Friar Robert, “ oppresses the weak, despises the great, treads justice under foot, and treats the two queens with the utmost excess of insolence. The court and the city alike tremble before him : in the assemblies of Naples a mournful silence reigns—in the interior of the houses they only speak in a whisper—the least gesture is punished as a crime—they scarcely dare to think. The great barons imitate his audacity and tyranny : hence result disorder, impunity, and the ruin of the kingdom.”³

During the short period in which the queen dowager, or Joanna, possessed any influence over the council of regency, their mutual favourite Philippa and her family were promoted to still higher dignities than they had enjoyed during the reign of the late king. Philippa, now governess to the minor queen, was made countess of Montoni ; her grand-daughter, to whom queen Sancha had given her own name at the baptismal font, was married to the count of Murzano ; and her son, the count of Evoli, was appointed to the vacant seneschalship of the kingdom, which advanced him from the rank of one of the great officers of the household to that of one of the seven great officers of the crown,⁴ inferior only to the sovereign himself. Philippa, as Boccaccio observes,

³ Ep. Fam. l. v. 3.

⁴ The seven great officers of the crown were—the high constable, commander of the land forces—the high admiral—the grand chancellor—the grand justiciary—the grand chamber-

seemed now at the summit of prosperity, but the revolution of the wheel of fortune is ever fatal to those who have attained its highest elevation.

lain—the prothonotary—and the grand seneschal. The chamberlain, as head of the treasury and royal chamber, keeper of the royal plate, jewels, and apparel—the prothonotary as chief of the royal secretaries—and the seneschal, as master of the royal household generally, exercised a jurisdiction within the palace. All of these officers, except the seneschal, sat at the side of the king in public assemblies, he, though like the rest clad in purple, occupied a less honourable place at the king's feet.

The officers of the household were divided into great officers and minor officers. The great officers were the seneschal, chief baker, butler, and carver; these had been originally subjected to the grand seneschal, but latterly took the oaths at the hands of the king only.

In the chamberlain's department were the gentlemen of the chamber—the master of the robes—the captain of the porters—the usher of ambassadors—and the chamberlain in ordinary. Under the grand chamberlain some also place the librarian and chief physician.

Under the prothonotary were, the notary of the household—the notary of the treasury—the notary sealer of the king's letters—the notary composer of the edicts—and the royal secretaries, generally amounting to sixty or more in number.

The master of the chapel royal exercised an independent jurisdiction over the numerous clergy of the household.

The minor officers were divided into gentlemen and servants. The gentlemen of the bed-chamber took the lead of the others. Besides the guards and personal attendants of the king, the cavalry, the chace, and the armoury, gave employment to a numerous train of major and minor officers. Pages had no salary, but wore the royal livery. The chief physician at Naples,

The princess of Taranto, whilst her eldest son endeavoured to make good her title to the Eastern empire with the sword, still continued to reside at Naples with her daughters.⁵ This princess

called proto-medico, exercised authority over all the other physicians of the kingdom, signing or taking away licences in a court of which he was president. The proto-chirurgo granted licenses to all professors of pharmacy or surgery in any of its branches, visited apothecaries shops, examined their medicines, and regulated their prices.

The officers of the king's household and person are further to be distinguished from those who held public offices as judges and magistrates. These were removable at pleasure, and subordinate to the seven great officers of the crown. "Both the officers of the crown and household were called *comites*, or counts, that is, companions of the king, or rather his courtiers, the court being called in Latin *comitatus*. In the provinces and the cities there were also counts, thus called because chosen from amongst the principal courtiers, those of the household were called counts palatine. Thus counts, when absent from their government, appointed deputies, called viscounts—hence the modern title.

The seven great officers called officers of the crown, differed in one important point from all others—they were not removable at the pleasure, or on the demise, of the monarch, and were considered rather the servants of the state than of the king, they seem to have held an intermediate rank between the sovereign and the rest of his subjects; their jurisdiction was not confined to any particular district, but extended over the whole kingdom. These and all the other offices of the court and kingdom of Naples were formed by Charles II, on the model of that of France.—See *Giannone*, Book XI and XXII.

⁵ In questo tempi molti cavalieri Napolitani, per quello ch' ho trovato annotato in alcuni gesti dei Principi di Taranto, vedendo

and Nicholas Acciajuoli have been accused, by some historians, of having used every art to obtain the affections of the young queen for her second son Louis, just then twenty-one years of age, learned, valiant, handsome, and engaging in his manners ; and it is said, they gained over Philippa to aid them in the project. It is hardly credible that a man of the high character of Acciajuoli could join in such a horrible conspiracy against the peace and honour of an innocent young girl, whose welfare he was bound to promote, by every tie of gratitude to the memory of the king who had raised him from obscurity to honour. Slander is no where so active as in history, where it can be propagated with impunity.

In the month of October (1343), Petrarch paid a second visit to the court of Naples, deputed by the Pope to assert his rights to the administration of the government, and charged by cardinal Colonna to procure the liberation of the counts of Minervino, Lucera, and Potenza, the brothers of the family of the Pipini, whose sentence of perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Capua has already been noticed in the transactions of the preceding reign. These turbulent barons were in close connection with the brothers of cardinal Colonna at Rome, whom they assisted in their

il Re Andrea dato all' ozio, e non esserci menzione alcuna di guerra, andaro ad offerirsi a Roberto principe di Taranto, che quell' anno armava per passare in Grecia."—*Costanzo*.

contests with the other nobles of Romagna, and the municipal authorities of the city. The state of Naples is thus described by Petrarch in a letter to cardinal Colonna soon after his arrival :

“ Immediately on my arrival at Naples I visited the two queens, and went to treat with the council on the subject of my coming. But, oh ! infamy of the world, what a monster ! May heaven rid the soil of Italy of such a pest ! I thought that in Memphis, in Babylon, and in Mecca, by the Saracens only was Christ despised. I mourn for thee, Naples, my beloved ! that thou art rendered like to one of these—no pity—no truth—no faith—a horrible animal, with bald head and bare feet, short in stature, swoln in person, with worn-out rags, torn studiously to show his naked skin, not only despises the supplications of thy citizens, but from the vantage ground of his feigned sanctity, treats with scorn the embassy of the Pope. Yet this is not marvellous, because his pride is founded on the treasures he accumulates, for from what is reported, it appears that his caskets full of gold do not accord with the rags he wears. Perhaps you would know his name ; he is called Robert, succeeding, in this place, to that Robert lately dead, who was as much the honour of our age, as this is its eternal infamy. Now I begin to believe that from the remains of the dead a serpent may spring, since from the sepulchre of that great

king, this asp has arisen. Oh, infamy of the world! who fills thy seat, magnanimous king Robert! Yet such is the custom of Fortune, who sets up and casts down according to her own pleasure; and to whom it would have appeared a small thing to have taken away a brilliant sun from the world, if she had not set this black darkness in its place. She might, having taken away an unequalled sovereign, have contented herself with giving, in his place, another somewhat inferior in worth, and not this atrocious and cruel beast. Is he a fit successor to such a monarch, who, more depraved than Dionysius, Phaleris, and Agathocles, has remained to govern the court of Naples, but with a new and marvellous species of tyranny? He wears nor crown, nor brocade, nor silk; but with a squalid mantle, filthy and torn, which covers but half his swollen body, and with a crouching gait, bent not by age but hypocrisy, he rules with unutterable arrogance and tyranny the courts of both queens, oppresses the weak, treads justice under foot, confounds all things human and divine, and, like a new Palinurus or Tiphys, sits at the helm of this great vessel, which, from what I can discern, will quickly go to the bottom, as all the mariners are like himself except the bishop of Cavaillon, who, as much as he can, takes the side of justice, abandoned by all the others. But what can one lamb do in the midst of such a flock of wolves? It remains to him but to fly, and

retire to the government of his own church and flock, which I believe he will do. But he has hitherto been retained by pity for the kingdom, which is going to ruin, and the remembrance of the words which the dying Robert spoke to him, and which told him how much he confided in him. As much as he can, in such a crowd of ill-disposed associates, he resists, and remonstrates, and remedies, the evils caused by others, putting his own shoulder to support the tottering pillars of the state, which may defer, but not prevent, their fall; and may it please God that they may not crush him whilst Friar Robert lives. You will do well to relate these things, and what else I have written, to the Pope, adding, in my name, that the apostolic embassy would have been received with more reverence by the Saracens than in Naples.

“But, whilst I, maddened with rage, seek to relieve my distempered breast by these complaints, I fear I shall disorder yours; and, therefore, to make an end, I must tell you, that I have been three or four times to visit the prisoners in the castle of Capua, who have no hope but in you, since they find, by experience, that before an unjust judge a just cause availeth nothing; and certainly the misfortune of their cause is, that pride is always the enemy of misery, and those who have to judge their cause, all hold a part of their possessions. Thus their liberty would go hand in hand with

the injury of their judges. Hard fate of men in these times, since, when they lose their all, they cannot enjoy security even in poverty, but must lose even their lives also. I have seen them with irons on their feet—a shocking circumstance and an example of the malignity of fortune! but as it is grievous to behold them in this state, so is it admirable to contemplate the greatness of their minds, confident that, as you live, they shall overcome every misfortune; but I have no hopes of that nature, unless some greater power shall set them free. I see them consuming in the damps of their prison, which they still hope to leave by the clemency of the rulers. The old queen has great pity of them, but cannot aid them. Cleopatra and Ptolemy might have mercy on them, if Photinus and Achilles⁶ would permit them. It is needless to say with what temper I witness these things, but I must perforce have patience.”

From the subsequent conduct of the Capuan prisoners it does not appear that they were worthy of the interest that cardinal Colonna took in their fate; and if Friar Robert had never been guilty of any other act of tyranny, even allowing that their sentence had been unjust, and that he alone was interested in their imprisonment, society would have had little to regret from the continuance of their captivity. But whatever allowance we may make for the high colouring of

⁶ Friar Robert, and Nicholas, the governor of Andrew.

Petrarch's language, who always writes as an orator, making the most of his subject, it is evident that the artful monk had firmly established himself at the head of an unprincipled aristocracy, who were actuated by no motive but ill-understood ambition, and who were alike regardless of the well-being of those above and below them, willingly sacrificing to him both the royal family and the people, permitting him to tyrannize over the one and to plunder the other. He ruled the weak mind of Andrew with despotic sway, and treated with audacious insolence not only Joanna, whose powers of mind he dreaded, and whose majority he felt must terminate his domination, but the venerable and pious Sancha, who desired only to exchange the crown for the conventual habit,—excluding both from any share or influence in the administration of affairs, and equally setting at defiance the authority of the Pope, his temporal lord and spiritual chief.

We may pause for a moment to picture to ourselves the crouching figure of the dirty, ragged, and bare-footed friar, contrasted with the refined and elegant poet, the most perfect model of symmetry the age produced, and the majestic young queen, in the first fresh bloom of youth and beauty! Such a group, which sets at defiance the imagination of a writer of romance, must at this period have been daily seen in real life,

in the halls of Castel Novo ; and the painter might vainly seek to do justice to the indignation which, bursting through every restraint of prudence and policy, illumined the noble and expressive countenance of Petrarch, or the responding glance of frank scorn, that lightened in the eye of Joanna, as she turned with unconcealed disgust from the unsightly reptile that crossed her path, and poisoned the fair promise of her youth.

Petrarch had frequent conferences with Joanna during his stay at Naples at this period. These turned chiefly on literary subjects, and inspired her with a high esteem for his abilities and worth. Loving letters, she wished to attach him to her court, and under happier circumstances might perhaps have succeeded, but being as she afterwards herself expressed it, “ a queen in name only, without power to do good to any one,” she was obliged to content herself with appointing him, in imitation of Robert, her domestic chaplain and almoner, an office possessed only by people of distinction, and to which some valuable privileges were attached. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the letters patent⁷ for this appointment are dated on the day of the most memorable tempest by which Naples had ever been visited. This tempest was caused by a violent Sirocco, and was felt all round Italy, and on all the shores of the Mediterranean, but more parti-

⁷ See *Appendix*, No. XIV.

cularly at Naples. Petrarch's description of its effects in that capital is peculiarly lively and interesting.

“ This scourge of God had been predicted a few days before, by the bishop of a neighbouring island, skilled in astrology. But as an astrologer never foretells the exact truth, he had also predicted that Naples would be destroyed by an earthquake on the 25th of November. This prediction had gained so much credit, that the greater part of the populace, resigning every other thought, and expecting only immediate death, craved the mercy of heaven for their sins. Others, however, derided the prophecy and the vain science of the astrologer. Between hope and fear, but I confess rather more inclined to fear, for accustomed to inhabit colder climates, I regarded a storm of thunder and lightning in winter as a phenomenon, and looked on that I now witnessed as a menace from heaven; on the evening of the 24th I retired at an early hour to the convent of St. Laurence,^s where I lodged, having previously seen the principal part of the ladies of the city more mindful of the presaged danger than of decorum; running to and fro with bare feet and dishevelled tresses, with their children in their arms, visiting the churches and bathing the altars with their tears, exclaiming, mercy, Lord! have pity on us.

^s Built by Charles II.

“ The evening was, however, more serene than ordinary ; my servants, after supper, retired to rest ; but I thought it best to observe how the moon looked, and opening the window, I remained at it till she set, about midnight, behind San Martino, looking dim and surrounded with clouds. Barring the window, I laid myself on the bed, and after lying awake a considerable time, I was falling into a sound sleep, when I was roused by the rumbling of an earthquake which not only burst open the windows and extinguished the light I was accustomed to keep in my chamber, but shook the walls to the foundations. The calm of sleep being thus changed into fear of instant death, I went out into the cloisters where we groped about for each other in the dark, and exhorted one another to patience and fortitude. The brothers and the prior David (a most holy man) who had risen to chaunt matins, terrified at the tremendous storm, came with devout prayers and tears, and with crosses, and relics, and a number of lighted torches to the place where I was ; this gave me a little courage, and I went with them into the church where we all threw ourselves on the ground, and implored aloud the mercy of heaven, expecting from time to time that the church would fall upon us. The terrors of that infernal night would take too long to relate, and though the truth would much exceed any thing I could say, yet my words would appear incredible.

“What bursts of water! what wind! what flashes of lightning! what awful re-echoing of the heavens! what fearful trembling of the earth! what horrible roaring of the sea! and what groans of the assembled populace!—It seemed as if by magic art, the duration of that night had been doubled; but at last the morning arrived, which we knew rather by conjecture than by any light it afforded. The priests then robed themselves to celebrate mass, whilst we not daring to raise our eyes to heaven, prostrate on the earth continued to sigh, and pray, and weep. Day at length appeared, but scarcely less obscure than night; the wailings in the higher part of the town beginning to cease, we could hear frightful cries from the strand. We also heard a number of horses prancing through the street, we knew not what for; exchanging despair for hardiness I mounted on horseback determined to see what was going on or to die. Great God! when was such a sight ever seen! The most aged mariners had never heard of, or seen any thing like it. In the middle of the bay an immense number of wretches were seen tossed about by the waves, who whilst they endeavoured to gain the shore were driven by their fury against the rocks, and appeared like so many eggs broken in pieces. All this space was full of drowned or drowning persons, and the shore was strewed with corpses and shattered limbs; some with

arms and legs broken, some with their brains and some with their entrails protruding. Nor were the shrieks of the men and women who inhabited the falling houses close to the sea, less terrific than the roaring of the sea itself. Where the day before we had gone to and fro on the dusty path, was now a sea more dangerous than the straits of Messina. The ocean seemed no longer to observe the bounds which God has prescribed it; respecting neither the works of man nor those of nature, that immense causeway, which as Virgil says, ‘*projects to break the rolling tides,*’ was covered by the waves as well as the whole of the lower town. You could not pass in the streets without the risk of being drowned. More than a thousand Neapolitan cavaliers came from all sides to the spot where we were, as if to assist at the obsequies of their country. This brilliant troop re-assured me a little, ‘*If I perish,*’ thought I to myself, ‘*it will at least be in good company.*’ But at the instant in which I was making this reflection, a terrible cry was set up around me, that the ground on which we stood was beginning to be submerged: the water had sapped the foundation, and we retired in haste to the upper part of the town. Certainly it was beyond measure awful to mortal eyes, to behold the raging of the heavens and the fury of the sea. A thousand mountains of water seemed to come from Ischia to Naples, neither black nor azure as in

common tempests, but of a dazzling whiteness. The young queen now came out of her palace barefooted, and with her hair flowing loose about her, at the head of an immense troop of ladies in the same penitential disarray, and visited in turn all the churches of the Virgin Mother of God."

But it was not the Virgin who was supposed at last to have calmed the fury of the elements. In the evening the storm ceased, when St. Nicholas, St. George, and St. Mark, showed a fisherman at Venice a boat filled with demons endeavouring to enter the port, who at the command of the saints disappeared, and a calm immediately ensued, as by their evil agency the storm had been raised. The malice of these imps of Satan effected no irreparable injury on shore, but it was far otherwise at sea. Not a vessel in the port of Naples escaped, except one galley of malefactors, destined to be sent on the first expedition against Sicily, the *forlorn hope* of Naples."

We may fairly conclude, that Petrarch and his brilliant band of cavaliers resorted to the palace of Joanna on the cessation of the storm; she was not likely otherwise to have thought of his letters patent, on the eve of this agitating day, and she was still less likely to have signed them previous to her devout pilgrimage. Passing from one extreme to the other, it is not unlikely that the halls of Castel Novo, were the scene of

more real gaiety, on that evening, than they had been since the death of the Good Robert.

The damage sustained by the merchants at Naples by this storm, was estimated at forty-thousand ounces of gold; the Venetian and Genoese trade was also so much injured by it, that silk and spices, and the products of the trade of the Levant, rose from fifty to a hundred per cent.⁹

It is a strange circumstance, that combats resembling shows of Gladiators were at this time exhibited at Naples, and were the favourite amusement of both sexes and all ranks; so long amidst all the changes of government and religion, and the intermixture of settlers, had the customs of antiquity remained.

“The populace,” says Petrarch, “eager for these barbarous spectacles, run to them in crowds, and applaud when human blood flows. Children expire before the eyes of their parents; it is esteemed a disgrace not to die with a good grace, as if for God or one’s country. The place set apart for this butchery is called Carbonaria. I was dragged there one day with a species of violence. The king and the queen were there with all the nobility of Naples, which is the most brilliant and the most magnificent in Europe. So dazzling an assembly kept my mind in anxious anticipation of pleasure; I knew not

⁹ Villani.

what was to happen, but I expected something grand and worthy of my attention. I heard loud applause, and turned to the spot whence it proceeded, and there I saw a young man of interesting figure expiring at my feet. Seized with horror at the sight, I put spurs to my horse and fled from the spot with precipitation, execrating the friends who had drawn me thither, and the cruelty of those who could take pleasure in the infernal spectacle."

The humane poet in vain used all his eloquence to disgust the Neapolitan nobles with these cruel sports; he was answered with much the same sort of arguments which are used by the advocates of pugilism in our own times. The Neapolitans fought with stones and sticks, and their combats, in point of danger and bloodshed, differed in fact, but little from the military jousts of the day, to which, living in an ecclesiastical state, he was little accustomed. That the gentler sex should ever have attended these sanguinary sports, now excites our astonishment; but custom is all-powerful, and such contests, in the days of chivalry, were the favourite spectacles of the young and fair, and the scene of their peculiar glory.

Petrarch found an amusement more congenial to his taste, in visiting the remains of antiquity in the neighbourhood of Naples, in company with his friends, John Barrili and Barbatus Sulmone,

and encouraged by the queen Dowager, who frequently said to him, with tears stealing down her cheeks, "we must have patience, who knows what time may bring forth, perhaps the face of affairs may change;" he remained at Naples till late in the month of December, when he finally succeeded in procuring the liberty of the Pipini. Could he have foreseen the consequences, he would rather have strengthened tenfold the bars of their prison. Their liberation certainly accelerated the misfortunes of the kingdom of Naples; a new course of violence, in the end, subjected all the three brothers to a violent death; and the count of Minervino, as the ally of the Colonna family, overthrew the power of Petrarch's idol and hero, Rienzi, the Tribune of Rome, from whose energy and talents, he fondly thought to see restored the ancient majesty of the Roman people.

These turbulent barons were at last liberated by the free grace of Andrew, who went personally to the castle of Capua, and of his own authority ordered them to be set free. The superstition of the age attributed this, the only act of vigour he ever performed, to the immediate inspiration of Satan, who foresaw the bad consequences that would result from it.¹⁰ The measure was certainly suggested to him by a bolder mind than his own: probably, Friar Robert, who wished on their enlargement to attach these dangerous men

¹⁰ Gravina.

to his party ; the council had all but signed the order for their liberation, which would have been put in force on the instant, but for the interference, says Petrarch, of a *man worse than a serpent*, which caused it to be postponed till their next meeting ; in the mean time the prince set them free :—the conclusion is evident. But whoever was his adviser, the monk, or the prince of darkness, Andrew was himself actuated only by the compassion natural to a youthful heart, and as it is also natural to love those we have served, he took these men so entirely into his friendship, that he could scarcely exist separated from them, and they presuming on his favour, grew more insolent, violent, and overbearing than before their imprisonment, and hourly increased the hatred which many of the great men of the kingdom were beginning to feel for him personally, from associating his idea with the oppressions of his governors and the violence of his new associates, and all began to dread that the inherent weakness of his mind would render him the tool of a succession of evil advisers.

Friar Robert, conscious that his rule could last only during the extreme youth of Joanna, and that her superior abilities, aided by the affection of the great body of the people, and the most worthy of the nobility, and by the favour of the pope, must ultimately dispossess the Hungarian faction of their power, had written soon after the

death of Robert to Louis of Hungary, the eldest brother of Andrew, to come to Naples to marry the princess Maria of Sicily, according to the testament of the late king, and to seize on the kingdom itself, in his own right, as the heir of his grandfather, Charles Martel. That the Hungarian monarch relished this advice, will appear from his subsequent conduct, and his implacable resentment against the man who prevented its execution. This project, which could have been crowned but with temporary success, was prevented by a counter-plot of the house of Durazzo, more injurious still to the interests of Joanna, whose fate it was, to have her nearest connexions become the instruments of ruin in the hands of ambitious pretenders to her crown.¹⁰

Agnes, duchess of Durazzo, continued to reside at Naples, and used every endeavour to inspire the young princess, Maria, with an affection for her son, the duke of Durazzo, and with horror of the Hungarian alliance: when she had procured her consent to an elopement from Castel Novo, where she resided with the two queens, the duchess employed her brother, cardinal Tailerand, to procure a dispensation from the pope for the

¹⁰ Il duca di Durazzo con procaccio del cardinale Pelagorgo, zio del detto duca, sposò l'altra figliuola del detto duca di Calavria, per redare il reame se l'altra sirocchia si morisse senza prole, onde nacque grande isdegno tra loro e la reina sua zia.—*Villani*, lib. xii. cap. 10.

marriage.¹¹ When this necessary instrument arrived, which the pope granted in a careless moment without due consideration of its consequences, she continued as usual to visit Castel Novo, got out the princess, and carrying her off to a place of security, married her to her son before any of her family were aware of her flight.

This daring abduction of the heir-apparent to the throne, excited the utmost indignation in the minds of Sancha and Joanna, and laid the foundation of disunion in the royal family.¹² Young as Joanna was, she could not be blind to the dangerous consequences likely to result from this marriage, or to the motives which had prompted the duke of Durazzo to such an act of fraud; and the reasons which would have made his alliance desirable for herself, rendered it amongst the last which could have been formed for her sister with safety to her own rights. She was, however, soon after reconciled to Maria and her husband; but the duke of Durazzo, from the period of his marriage, engaged in a course of intrigue and ambition, which ended at last in his own destruction. By a strange coincidence, his brother, at the same time, married a daughter of the house of the Sanseverineschi, from whom sprung the second Charles of Durazzo, who at a distant period married the daughter of the princess Maria and the

¹¹ Chronicle of Gravina—Muratori, t. xii.

¹² Villani, Bouche, &c.—Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*.

duke of Durazzo:¹³ he completed the ruin the first Charles began, and like him terminated a course of ambition and treachery, by a violent death, —the one, sacrificed to the rage of the king of Hungary, whose intended bride he had possessed himself of; the other, murdered in the presence of the daughter of that same king, whose paternal inheritance he had usurped.¹⁴

About the first anniversary of the death of king Robert, his widow executed the project she had meditated even in his life-time, and took the monastic vows in the convent of St. Claire, where, fortunately for herself, she died before the occurrence of those events which occasioned the captivity or flight of every member of the royal family. In the course of this year, cardinal Americus was appointed legate by the pope; and on the 28th of August, Joanna received from him the investiture, and took the oaths in his hands according to the customary ceremonies, and on the same conditions as her predecessors, Andrew appearing only as a spectator in the ceremony.

The affairs of the kingdom were not improved under the administration of cardinal Americus. His attempts to control the authority of Friar Robert

¹³ Costanzo.

¹⁴ The first and second Charles of Durazzo are by many writers confused together, from which result much of the confusion and many of the mistakes which abound in the works of those writers who have treated succinctly of this period.

were vain, as the power of the artful monk was firmly established amongst the lower order, by the reputation of extraordinary sanctity, which imposed on their gross ignorance, and amongst a large portion of the higher class, by the enjoyment or the hopes of places of profit or honour. As a stranger, the Cardinal was wholly ignorant on the most important matters, and all necessary information was withheld by those who did not wish for the continuance of his authority. Joanna seeing every thing going to ruin, wrote directly from herself to the pope, an earnest entreaty to be permitted to govern herself, without the intervention of tutors or guardians. This was naturally refused by the pontiff, on account of her extreme youth, on which she made another direct appeal to him to recall his present legate, and appoint in his place the bishop of Cavaillon, who had been placed by the testament of Robert at the head of the council of regency, and to whom he had committed the charge of the kingdom, and of his grand-children, with his last breath.¹⁵ Convinced of the justice and expediency of this second request, the pope immediately complied with it, and some mitigation of the miseries of the people, and of the indignities of the royal family, was experienced under the administration of that prelate.

Unfortunately for Andrew, his father had died immediately before the death of Robert of Naples,

¹⁵ Bouche.

and his brother, more mindful of those claims to that throne which he intended to assert at the first convenient season, than of his welfare, applied immediately to the court of Avignon to grant a bull for his coronation, in right of his grandfather, Charles Martel, and not as the consort of Joanna, in which character alone the Neapolitans had proclaimed him king, or would consent to take the oaths of allegiance. The right of Andrew to the throne of Naples could not in any point of view be established. If the rights of primogeniture could not under any circumstance be waived, then not he but Louis was the heir; if, on the contrary, his father could make over his pretensions to a younger son, then Charles the Second had undoubtedly possessed a prior right to leave the crown of Naples to his second son, Robert (from whom Joanna and her sister inherited), whose claim had been confirmed by the Holy See, the dispenser of thrones, and in a more particular manner of that of Naples, its acknowledged fief.

The court of Hungary would not, in the first instance, consent to the coronation of Andrew on the terms the Neapolitan ambassadors proposed as consort of the queen, which caused the first delay; and when the tyranny, injustice, and rapaciousness of his party were openly displayed, the great barons and princes opposed it on any terms. The duke of Durazzo, above all

others, as the husband of the princess Maria, being more peculiarly interested in the question,¹⁶ Cardinal Tailerand, his uncle, became the channel of their secret remonstrances to the pope. They conceived that, however bad their situation then was, it would be absolutely intolerable, if the insolent and rapacious Hungarians were furnished with a legitimate title to rule or to possess any share of the government in his name, which would in fact make the kingdom but a province of Hungary. These considerations withheld the pope from granting the bull for the coronation; but at last it is said, that “*the court of Hungary, understanding the distemper of the pope’s council,*” sent them a bribe of 100,000 florins, which, after the matter had been two years and a half under debate, procured a bull for the coronation of Andrew and Joanna conjointly, but of the former, only as the consort of the queen, and without giving him any personal claim to the crown. The 20th September, 1345, was fixed for the ceremony, and the bishop of Chartres was sent as inter-nuncio to perform it :

¹⁶ Si trovavano allora in Napoli molti Principi della real casa appellati per cio i Reali, cadanno di quelli aspirava al regno o al meno al commando. Tra gli altri furbescamente e al dispetto de gli Unghari, Carlo duca di Durazzo sposò Maria, sorella della Regina Giovanna, matrimonio che partorì molta discordia e peggiori conseguenze in avvenire.—*Muratori, Annali d’Italia*, vol. xii. 87.

he had already arrived at Mola di Gaeta, on his way to Naples, when a shocking and unexpected event rendered the tardy consent of the pope of no avail.

C H A P. VII.

Residence of Joanna and Andrew at Aversa—Murder of Andrew—His Character—The Royal Family suspected of having compassed his Death—Joanna accused of having consented to it—Reasons for acquitting her of the Charge—The Cardinal of St. Mark sent to Naples by Clement VI, to assume the Government—Joanna delivered of a Son—She assumes the Government—Her Letter to the King of Hungary on the Death of Andrew—Appoints Hugh de Baux to punish the Murderers—Barbarous Execution of Philippa and her Children—Joanna's affection for her—Death of the Princess of Taranto, Titular Empress of Constantinople—Desolate Situation of Joanna—Enmity of the Duke of Durazzo—Menacing Letter of the King of Hungary—Joanna's Marriage with Louis of Taranto—The Pope refuses the Investiture of Naples to the King of Hungary, who appeals to Rienzi.

THE town of Aversa, so fatally celebrated in the history of Naples, is situated between Capua and the capital, in that enchanting district of *the happy Campania*, which has in all ages been the delight of the poet and the bane of the stern warrior.

In 1345 *Aversa* consisted of little more than its fine castle, belonging to the crown, and a noble Celestine monastery and beautiful gardens, not having recovered from its demolition by Charles

of Anjou, in revenge of its adherence to a baron of the adverse party, who gave it a name which the superstition of the middle ages considered as ominous of the destruction it was fated to bring on his posterity, in punishment of his cruelty on that occasion, and on the unjust execution of the innocent and noble Conradine. The *villeggiatura* has at all times been the delight of the Italians; and the Angevine monarchs, driven out of their capital by the summer heats, annually sought relaxation from the cares of royalty in some one of their summer residences, or in the spacious apartments and delightful gardens of the numerous monasteries which they had founded in the neighbourhood of Naples.¹

“The king and queen,” says the simplicity of the ancient Chronicles, in speaking of Andrew and Joanna, “went to take their diversions in the gardens of the Celestine monastery, in the months of August and September.”²

These Celestine gardens now added to the labours or the meditations of the pious monk, the song of the minstrel, the dance of the young

¹ The Terra di Lavoro at this time abounded, says Giannone, in woods and forests; the Angevine kings had here many parks and chases. The emperor, Frederic II, had a park at Foggia in Puglia; a chase near Gravina, and another at Melfi. In spring he visited Foggia, and in summer Melfi in the mountains.

² Villani.

maiden, or the tale of the poet, enjoyed by the side of the fresh fountain or silver stream, in the cool shade of the vine-trellised alley, or the orange grove, fragrant with every odour-breathing flower or plant. Relieved from the presence of the hateful friar who remained at the seat of government pursuing his usual course of tyranny and extortion with fresh energy in expectation of the approaching coronation of Andrew, their mirth was unrestrained, and youthful hope unsaddened by the dark threatenings of futurity. Joanna, whose health had lately begun to decline, from the constant mortifications and uneasiness she endured, enjoyed the balmy softness of the air; and loving the *pomp and circumstance* of royalty, the brilliant spectacles of the public festival and joust, she anticipated the approaching splendors of her coronation, and its attendant rejoicings, which was to give her a new and sacred title to the allegiance of that people whose happiness the equity and vigour of her administration was destined one day to form. The gentle and indolent Andrew, as he lay supinely stretched under the tall cedar or the olive, fondly dreamed of the crown which was shortly to encircle his brow, or as he turned his eyes on his beautiful queen, thought of the child which would shortly unite their differing claims to its possession. But these two circumstances were the immediate causes of the destruction of the unfortunate youth: the first from a

well-founded dread of the tyranny of his preceptors, who ruled alike over him and the kingdom; and the second, as it was feared it would give him a fresh title to the reverence of the people and the affection of the queen, which was above all things dreaded by those who hoped to ground their own advancement on the destruction of one or both.

The 20th of September was fixed for the coronation of the king and queen. On the night of the 18th they retired to rest as usual, intending to return at an early hour the next day to Naples, preparatory to the ceremonies and fatigues of the morrow. The Hungarian attendants of Andrew were sunk in sleep and wine, the monks of the convent were enjoying their short repose previous to their customary hour of chaunting matins, when Mabrice, the sister of Jacobuzio di Pace, Andrew's chamberlain, who was one of the ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, entered in haste, and told Andrew that a courier from Friar Robert had just arrived, and waited to confer with him on affairs of moment. Unsuspicious of any evil design, the prince got up and dressed himself, in order to proceed to an apartment at the end of a neighbouring gallery, where, not the supposed courier, but some of the conspirators were assembled. Immediately on his leaving the queen, the door of her apartment was secured by the conspirators, we must suppose

to prevent his return, or her egress. When he got about the middle of the gallery, some persons, but who they were was never positively known, surrounded him ; one stopped his mouth with an iron gauntlet or glove, so as to prevent his cries ; others threw round his neck a cord with a running knot, a towel, or a handkerchief—for the circumstances are differently related, and all dragged him forward to the balcony of the open gallery, from which he was hung over the garden, and some of the conspirators stationed there strangled him by pulling him by the feet.³ Having accomplished their horrible purpose, they would have proceeded to bury the body in the garden, with the intention of saying he had left the kingdom for Hungary, by the advice of his counsellors ; but the execution of this imbecile contrivance was stopped by the unexpected appearance of an Hungarian maid (by some said to have been the nurse of Andrew, but not so called by Villani) who slept near, probably in one of the apart-

³ The immediate perpetrators are thought to have been Charles Artus and his son, the counts of Leonessa and Stella ; Raimond of Catania, the grand mareschal ; Nicholas di Mirazzano, and Jacob di Pace, the chamberlains of Andrew ; the count d'Evoli, son of Philippa, and the count of Trelice, her son-in-law. The count of Marsan, the husband of her granddaughter, was executed as concerned in the conspiracy, though not stated to have been in the gallery at the time ; as were also Humphrey of Montefoscolo, Bertrand Cantanzaro, and many others.

ments under the balcony, and who was disturbed by the fall of the body, when the cord which suspended it was cut or broken. Her cries assembled the inhabitants of the convent to the spot and dispersed the conspirators, who fled in all directions; and the body of the unfortunate prince was immediately carried into the church of the convent.⁴ Of this horrible transaction little is certainly known, except the atrocious catastrophe. Historians disagree as to the circumstances, the instigators, and the perpetrators of the murder, and abound in directly contradictory assertions; some say that Andrew was sleeping with the queen when he was called up; and as Boccaccio on the one side, who was at Naples at the time, and Villani on the other, who had been informed by Nicholas, the Hungarian, his governor, agree in this, it was most probably the case; others, however, say he was in the anti-chamber, undressing, and others that he was in a different apartment altogether, with the ladies of the queen's bed-chamber, laughing and talking with childish mirth. The queen, immediately on the murder, fled to Naples, in a dreadful state of agitation and fear; and calling round her the most esteemed friends of king Robert, commanded their counsels in this fearful emergency. Messengers were immediately dispatched to inform the pope and the king of Hungary of the dreadful event; and Joanna is said to have written to the

⁴ Costanzo

latter a most pathetic letter, imploring his protection for her and her unborn child. No authentic account remains of how or when she became acquainted, or showed acquaintance, with the murder of Andrew. Villani only says, she returned to Naples next morning, and did not show the grief she ought to have done. Her contemporary friends, who have not had recourse to invention in her defence, are also silent on the subject. But some writers have represented her behaviour according as it appeared most likely to their imagination that she would act on the supposition of her guilty participation in the foul deed. The chronicle of Gravina represents the nurse, after seeing the body in the garden, as calling Andrew, and receiving no answer, on which she burst into the apartment; and states that when the queen was informed by her and others, whom her cries drew to her apartment, of the murder of the king, she was so conscience-stricken, and in such a state of guilty confusion, that she could not even rise from the spot where she lay till the morning was far advanced, and knew not how to raise her tearless eyes, or to look up at any one.⁵

“ Vultum carentem lacrymis nesciebat erigere, quin posset respicere quempiam tanta erat confusio sui delicti.”—*Muratorì*, t. xii. —Gravina represents Joanna as completely overcome with some powerful feeling, which he affirms to be shame and conscious guilt. Might we not rather suppose it, with Costanzo and Giannone, to be terror and horror? The tearless eye is the most certain and acknowledged token of a heart that has

The fancy of other writers has given a directly contrary picture. The nurse, according to her usual custom, goes into the apartment and finds the queen sitting up at the side of the bed; she asks her where the king is, Joanna laughing, says she does not know, on which the nurse goes out, and, directed by a *miraculous light*, sees Andrew's body lying on the grass, below the balcony; supposing him asleep, she returns to the chamber, saying, "Lady, the king sleeps in the garden," to which the queen replies, "Let him sleep there;" still unsatisfied, she descends to the garden, where her appearance puts the conspirators to flight.*

At the end of three days, the body of the unfortunate Andrew was conveyed to Naples, and buried in the cathedral, "where," says Bouche, "it was laid in the chapel of St. Louis, with many tears and lamentations." The horror that was expressed at his fate by all ranks of people in the kingdom of Naples, is highly creditable to the moral feeling of the times: the youth, the innocence, and the unmerited sufferings of the victim moved the most obdurate hearts. But whilst historians unanimously record this circum-

scarcely power to bear under the paralyzing hand of misfortune—"Stunned by grief, I had well nigh died of the same wounds," is her own expression to the king of Hungary. "*La Regina, ch' era d'età di diciotto anni, sbigottita non sapea che farsi.*"—*Giannone* lib. i. 3.

* Rastrelli, *Notizie Istoriche Italiane*, Venice, 1731.

stance, the representations of many would lead a careless reader to suppose that the remains of the prince were neglected and exposed to indignity. "His body lay three days unburied, and then, say they, was brought to Naples, and buried by the canon of the cathedral at his own expense." Hence some make out an additional charge against Joanna, accusing her of neglecting the interment altogether; whilst others assert that she had it performed hastily and privately before she left Aversa. These accusations neutralize each other. The first opinion is derived from what Bouche calls "*the ingenious, but false, epitaph,*" inscribed on the tomb of Andrew in the early part of the 16th century, by one of those who, after the accusations originally made against her had been given up by her contemporaries, prompted by the fury of party spirit in religion, endeavoured to revive them after her decease.

There is in this representation just that mixture of truth and falsehood which always enters into the composition of slander, and without which it could not for one moment hold together, or assume any imposing shape. The body of Andrew was three days unburied. The preparations for its interment, with the ceremonies due to his rank, could not have been completed sooner; and a more hasty interment would have shown the precipitation of guilt seeking

concealment. His obsequies were most probably performed by the canon of the cathedral, whose proper office it was, and in the cathedral the customary burying-place of the monarchs of Naples; whether at the expense of the canon of the cathedral, or not, it is impossible to say; if they were, it was doubtless customary: the canons of St. Peter's had performed the obsequies of the popes from the earliest recorded period, and a great portion of the funeral expenses were at their charge. If any, or all, of the royal family had compassed the death of the unfortunate youth, it is absurd to suppose they would have permitted a circumstance of this kind, which must have revolted all minds against them. The greater the consciousness of guilt, the more solicitude to preserve appearances.⁷

Most of the contemporaries of the ill-fated Andrew have represented his manners as barbarous and gross, and his habits as those of the lowest intemperance, and some have even added ferocity to drunkenness, gluttony, and other low propensities. But these vague accusations proceed principally from the chroniclers of distant Italian and German cities, who, without any personal knowledge on the subject, have recorded popular rumours and prejudices. The friends and the

⁷ The accusation of neglecting the burial of Andrew is evidently that of a succeeding age: Villani makes it no part of his charge; he merely says, Andrew "*was brought to Naples and buried with the princes.*"

enemies of the reputation of Joanna, have alike concurred in exaggerating his faults, the first to excuse, at all risks, the conduct imputed to her, the other to account for that personal aversion which could alone form a sufficient motive to render the part they have attributed to her compatible with her general character for equity and humanity, patience and forgiveness. The judicious Costanzo speaks of Andrew only as stupid and slothful, and rather as devoid of great qualities than degraded by vicious ones : Villani designates him only as a *youthful and innocent king* : whilst Petrarch, rising in his praises, calls him the most gentle and inoffensive of men, a youth of a rare disposition, a king of great hopes.

This eulogium of Petrarch it is difficult to reconcile with the measures of exclusion adopted by king Robert, and with other historical evidence : like most eloquent writers, he not unfrequently overpasses the just measure of praise or blame to heighten the effect of his subject. His eulogium of Andrew was written immediately after his death, when all his feelings were naturally excited in his favour, and whilst he was yet grateful to him for having liberated the Pipini, unconscious that he had thereby mainly contributed to his death. The medium between the exaggerated praise of Petrarch and the contumely of most of his other contemporaries, will probably give the true character of Andrew.

Guileless and inoffensive, the faculties of his mind were so torporized by indolence, that they were, in his short career, nearly as useless as if they had never existed ; and if he was indeed a youth of great *hopes*, his intellect must have been of that description which is not manifested at an early period, but which is not the less valuable for its tardy development.

The odium of this horrible assassination has been attributed by historians to three different parties. One party, with De Sade, the biographer of Petrarch, attribute it to Nicholas Acciajuoli and the empress of Constantinople, in order to gain for Louis of Taranto the hand of the queen, whom they had previously laboured to inspire with a criminal passion for him, and say that, having gained over the Catanese to this plot, they at length succeeded in persuading Joanna to consent to the sacrifice of Andrew, as a measure of state policy necessary to the peace of the kingdom and her own security. The fallacy of this opinion we shall endeavour to demonstrate as the circumstances arise which tend to the justification of Joanna. The circumstance which makes most against the empress of Constantinople is, her having granted an asylum in her states to Charles Artus and his son, who, by a precipitate flight on the murder of Andrew, gave strong presumption of their guilt. There is every probability that the son, and the sons-in-law, of

the Catanese, were amongst the murderers of Andrew, because they had been enriched with the spoils of the Pipini, and were peculiarly obnoxious to Friar Robert; and therefore their mother, Philippa, has been universally supposed to be implicated in their guilt, though, it is to be observed, that neither she nor her granddaughter Sancha are said to have been in the gallery, or to have approached the bed-chamber at the time it was perpetrated. They were executed, says Villani, *because they knew of the plot*: that there was ever any thing more than suspicion of this knowledge, admits of doubt. Others have attributed this crime to the duke of Durazzo, in order to deprive Joanna of the crown by accusing her of the destruction of her husband, and holding her up to universal execration. Something like *evidence* was produced against him in the letters which the king of Hungary alleged him to have written to Charles Artus, concerting the murder of Andrew; and so far the presumption against him is much stronger than against Joanna or Louis of Taranto, against whom it is acknowledged by every authority that no testimony, either written or oral, could ever be procured, in the various inquisitions made on the subject.*

* The accusation against Louis seems the most improbable of all. Why confide such a plot to a young man of three or four and twenty, whose consent was in no way necessary, and who has never been said by any one to have been an instrument of its execution?

But, on the whole, it appears probable, that the duke of Durazzo rather endeavoured ambitiously to turn the death of Andrew to the destruction of Joanna, and to rise on her ruin, than that he devised it himself. The third opinion ascribes the plot against Andrew to those amongst the nobles who had been enriched by king Robert with the spoils of the Pipini, whom, by the favour of the unfortunate youth, they expected soon to become the absolute masters of their lives and fortunes ; and to those who were, from any other circumstance, most peculiarly obnoxious to Friar Robert. This seems the most rational opinion in every point of view. The plot was evidently never of *female* devising. The vengeance of women, though not less deadly, is more timidly fraudulent in execution, and more cunning in concealment. It appears to have been a sudden burst of desperate ferocity in a set of miscreants who feared the loss of their fortunes and lives under the sway of the implacable and equally unprincipled friar. The time and the manner of Andrew's death strongly confirm this supposition ; it took place within twenty-four hours of his coronation, without any precautions whatever for concealment. The shallow artifice of burying him in the garden shows the perturbation of hastily-concerted crime ; the fresh-turned earth must have betrayed his grave to the most careless observer, and none could for a moment have believed, that he had volun-

tarily set out for Hungary in this secret and sudden manner, without the knowledge or assistance of any of his friends, on the eve of his long-desired coronation. "The court," says De Sade, "went to the convent of Aversa, under the pretext that the queen's health required a purer air than the immediate neighbourhood of Naples, but all the world agreed that they went there only the more securely to get rid of Andrew." This assertion is manifestly absurd. Who would choose for the scene of a premeditated murder, the peopled walls of a convent rather than the royal castle in the same town, which would have afforded every facility for its accomplishment and concealment? Amongst the contemporaries of Joanna who have accused her of this crime, the only ones of acknowledged credit are the two Villani, and their testimony against her must be taken as one, as their information is derived from the same source, *Nicholas the Hungarian*, the preceptor of Andrew, the intimate friend of Matthew Villani (therefore likely to prejudice his mind) and the head of that faction who had no defence for their own conduct except in calumniating her, and no hope of recovering the prize their insupportable tyranny had lost, except in her destruction. The Villani, though too honest to falsify what had been reported to them, yet exercised no judgment on what they heard, and show the most absurd credulity on all subjects. Of the affairs of the kingdom of Naples, or the character of

Joanna, they had no personal knowledge ; and therefore, their testimony is, surely, not to be weighed against those who were fully acquainted with both, particularly as they relate no word or act which betrayed a consciousness of the murder either before or after its commission. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the king of Hungary, in his first manifesto to the princes of Europe, on the death of his brother, made no accusation of Joanna :⁹ it was not until after he became convinced of the practicability of seizing on the kingdom of Naples, that he inculpated her. Pope Clement VI, who, in his political and spiritual capacity, possessed better means of information than any other person, constantly maintained her innocence, writing in express terms to the king of Hungary—"As to the murder of prince Andrew, she can neither be convicted nor suspected of it, and still less has she *confessed* it."¹⁰ The college of cardinals, in conjunction with the Pope, after examining all the depositions, declared her not only innocent, but above the suspicion of guilt. Petrarch obtaining his information by personal communication with the bishop of Cavaillon, the Pope's legate at Naples, Boccaccio on the spot at the time, with Baldus and Angelus of Perugia, the most celebrated lawyers of the day, were of the same opinion, one of them calling her a most holy queen, the honour of the

⁹ Bouche.¹⁰ Bouche.

world, and the light of Italy.¹¹ To this the negative testimony of her cruel enemy, Pope Urban VI, is to be added, who, in the bull of deposition which he fulminated against her, calls her a schismatic, a heretic, and a traitorous rebel ; but makes no mention of the murder of Andrew, which, says one of those who maintain the common opinion that she had consented to it, appears as if he could not reproach her with it ;¹² and, certainly, if the accusation had been considered tenable by their contemporaries, this infuriate pontiff would not have failed to have made it. It is to be observed, that Urban VI was a Neapolitan, and long acquainted with the character of Joanna, whose chancellor he at one time was. If we proceed from her contemporaries to subsequent historians, those of Naples and Provence entirely exonerate her, Giannone and Costanzo, Bouche and Gaudridi, as also Maimbourg, the historian of that

¹¹ Ed ancorche dal volgo fosse stata imputata, e da poi da alcuni scrittori, ch' avesse avuta parte nella morte d'Andrea suo primo marito, nulla di manco dalle tante prove ch' ella diede della sua innocenza gli uomini da bene e piu saggi di quei tempi la tennero per *innocentissima* ; e chiarissimo argomento, e quello ch' Angelo ne addita in un suo consiglio, chiamandola santissima, onor del mondo, ed unica luce d' Italia, di che, come ponderò il Costanzo, si sarebbe molto bene guardato un tanto famoso ed eccellente dottore di cosi chiamarla, se non fosse stata a quel tempo presso i savj tenuta per innocente, poiche ognun avrebbe giudicato che parlando per antifrasi avesse voluto beffeggiarla.—*Giannone*, l. 23.

¹² Notizie Antiche Istoriche Italiane.

great schism in the church which revived abandoned calumnies against her. Nostradamus in the history of Provence, and Collennuccio in that of Naples, on the contrary side, have long been degraded from the rank of historians to that of fabulists. “If,” says De Sade, “we *weigh* the suffrages instead of *counting* them, it would be easy to demonstrate the innocence of Joanna.” Surely one well-informed and enlightened authority should outweigh a host of idle repeaters of common report or hasty compilers, copying, without reflection or discrimination, one from the other. We should judge by the test of historical truth, which, Petrarch says, guided his decisions amidst the contradictory assertions of historians—the character of the writers—their means of information—and the probability of the circumstances they relate,—most of these tests of truth are in favour of Joanna. Not only the most worthy, but, what is of as much consequence in such matters, the most *enlightened* of her contemporaries—men independent of her favour or protection—remarkable for their freedom of censure—personally acquainted with her character, with that of her court and family, with the political circumstances of her kingdom—acquit her. A Florentine, unacquainted with all and each of these, except by report, condemns her on the testimony of the man who, of all others, was most interested in defaming her. Of the subsequent his-

torians of Naples and Provence, the most esteemed writers maintain her innocence, while those who deal largely in fable assert her guilt; the former observing that the charge is wholly inconsistent with her exalted character. We must further acknowledge the historians of Naples and Provence to be preferable authority on this subject to those of other nations. If the creditable historians of England and Scotland unanimously acquitted a sovereign of England of an enormous crime laid to his charge by an inimical faction, we surely would not condemn him on the authority of those of France, Germany, or Italy? The balance of probabilities is also, on the whole, favourable to the reputation of Joanna. If, on the one hand, it was natural she should spurn the domination of the Hungarians, and lament the indolent character of Andrew, which, for the time being, yielded herself, her family, and her people, to their tyranny, it is, on the other, incredible that she could have been privy to his death under the circumstances in which it took place.

Much has been said of the aversion felt for Andrew by Joanna, and a picture has been drawn of him as a gross glutton and drunkard, which would make that aversion inevitable; we have endeavoured to show that the unfortunate prince has been as much misrepresented as his consort. No proof of this disgust has descended to us: they were constantly together, both in

public and private, from the period when their marriage was solemnized in all its forms, which was not until after the death of king Robert; and the words of Joanna's second letter to the king of Hungary on the subject bear such a character of truth and nature, that they must carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. This letter will be noticed in its own place.

Against the assertion of Villani, that Joanna showed little concern on the death of Andrew, we must place the repeated declarations of Pope Clement VI, whose conviction of her innocence was partly grounded on the horror she always expressed of the murder of Andrew, and the lively grief with which she deplored his tragical fate.

As suspicions alone ever existed against Joanna, moral probabilities, as well as contemporary and historical authority, should be allowed due weight on the other side. These will be noticed as the incidents occur out of which they arise.

As soon as the intelligence of Andrew's death reached the court of Avignon, the Pope, who, it will be remembered, had assumed the government of Naples, sent the cardinal of St. Mark to inquire into the circumstances, and punish the murderers. He was ordered to keep the depositions secret, should the queen or the princes be implicated in them. He could, however, obtain no satisfactory testimony on the subject. Some,

suspected to have been amongst the number of the conspirators, stood openly on the defensive, and fortified themselves in their own castles; some were thought to be secretly put to death; others were taken by night from the prisons, and, as it is said, had their tongues cut out, to prevent confession, by those dreading their revelations.

Many condemn Joanna for having at this period taken no steps, on her own responsibility, to bring the guilty to justice, forgetting that she had as yet no power of exercising legal authority either by the testament of the late king, or by the permission of the Pope, her acknowledged temporal and spiritual lord and guardian, who had refused to allow her to govern for herself, and had confided the administration of the kingdom to the bishop of Cavaillon; and if the proper measures were not pursued in the first instance, that prelate, not the queen, was to blame. Had she at this period interfered with his jurisdiction, it would have been construed into a consciousness of guilt, and an endeavour to disturb the strict administration of justice; she was moreover at this agitating crisis, not only legally, but physically, incapacitated from taking the helm of state, being on the eve of becoming a mother.¹²

¹² "Andrew was found hanged in his chamber, which was near that of the queen. Vengeance being demanded by

his brother, Louis of Hungary, the queen by all *supposed* to be the contriver of his death, caused it to be inquired into, and in order to take off the odium from herself, some innocent people suffered for it."—*Puffendorf, Hist. Europe, art. Naples and Sicily*, p. 135.

One historian, taking the other side of the question to aim a blow at the reputation of this queen, asserts what would have been generally believed, had she interfered with the Pope's commission to the cardinal of St. Mark, that, to take off the odium from herself, she caused some innocent people to be put to death.

Who these innocents were we are not informed. This is a pretty fair specimen of the style in which the life of this queen is commonly written. The assertion that "Andrew was found hanged in his chamber, near that of the queen," is contrary to all evidence on both sides of the question. Many who pass the most unqualified condemnation on her conduct are still more ignorant of her history, calling her the *daughter* of king Robert, because she immediately succeeded him, confusing the first and second Charles of Durazzo together, and her sister Maria of Sicily, duchess of Durazzo, with her aunt, commonly called the princess Maria of Sicily, not knowing that Charles Artus was one of the regents appointed by king Robert. One writer of her life says, that *she* appointed him to govern, as she could bend him to her will [*Rastrelli Notizie Istoriche Italiane.*] Many of these errors, and others too numerous to detail, are copied from Collenuccio. In another important circumstance these writers also mislead their readers. Forgetting the great epic rule, that every narrative requires a beginning, a middle, and an end, they join the first few years and the last of Joanna's reign together, and connect her early misfortunes and her death, as if crime and punishment had followed like cause and effect, and pass over an intermediate space of thirty years of an honoured reign, during which she was beloved at home and respected abroad!

Such was the state of insubordination at Naples at this period, that the great officers of state could not pass through the streets without a large retinue, as young men of condition, armed cap-à-pie, went about at all hours, challenging the passengers to combats which generally ended in the death of some one of the parties engaged. And whilst many of the great barons and feudal lords openly defied the government (if such it could be called) in their fortified castles, inferior bands of malefactors infested the open country, and rendered the public roads nearly impassable, robbing and murdering the passengers without mercy. The kingdom of Naples has often been said to be a Paradise inhabited by demons, and it never better deserved that character than at this period. In this state of affairs, the meek and excellent bishop of Cavaillon, who had desired to resign his charge from the period of Robert's death, at last procured the Pope's permission to retire to the happy seclusion of his see in Provence. He embarked from Naples on the 23rd of December, but was driven back to the coast by a violent tempest. On Christmas-eve messengers arrived from the queen, requiring his presence at the baptism of her son, who had been born during the tempest. The rejoicings at Naples on the birth of the young prince were enthusiastic and sincere, and carried consolation to the heart of Joanna, who, surrounded by treason and violence,

hailed them as tokens of the allegiance and affection of the great body of the people. This poor child of the storm was hailed as the harbinger of returning peace and tranquillity ; but, during the short period of his existence, his mother and her people were marked out to endure the utmost malignity of fortune. At his baptism, the bishop of Cavaillon represented the Pope, who had promised the queen to be his sponsor, and he was named by her Carobert after the father of Andrew, as he would have been, according to customary etiquette, had Andrew lived to name him himself. Such circumstances are trifling, but they all tell in favour of Joanna.

The day after the ceremony of the baptism, the bishop of Cavaillon again embarked for Provence, and was assailed by a tempest more terrific than the first, from which he was saved by the miraculous interposition of St. Magdalen, the patron saint of Provence, as he himself asserts in her life, which he shortly after wrote in his retirement. Here his solitude was for some time cheered by the society of Petrarch, who probably, from his account of the recent transactions at Naples, derived his conviction of the innocence of Joanna, further confirmed by his own previous observation of her character and conduct, and the views of those who surrounded her.

The bishops of Padua and Mont Cassin were immediately sent by the Pope to Naples to take

charge of the young Carobert; for Joanna, as a minor, had not even the care of her own child.¹⁴ As soon, however, as she was sufficiently recovered after his birth to appear in public, a deputation from the nobility and the governors of the city of Naples repaired to Castel Novo, to offer their congratulations, and to advise the queen to take the administration of affairs into her own hands, and use efficient means to bring the murderers of Andrew to justice, as hitherto the measures of the cardinal of St. Mark had been wholly ineffectual.¹⁵ With a degree of virtuous sincerity, which cannot be sufficiently applauded, and has rarely been equalled, they informed her that evil-minded people had availed themselves of this circumstance to accuse her of the murder of her husband, and that the number of the disaffected were hourly increasing from the prevalence of this opinion.

The queen, who had now completed her eighteenth year, assured of the support of the best class of the nobility and people, assembled the most esteemed of the dispersed friends of the late king, and without waiting for the sanction of the Pope, which she knew it was vain to expect, formed a council of her own choosing. Her first act was to affix to the walls of her own palace, and all other public places, a severe edict against

¹⁴ Mem. Pétrarque.

¹⁵ Bouche.

the murderers;¹⁶ and, by the advice of the council, signed a commission empowering Hugh de Baux, a nobleman of acknowledged integrity, ability, and activity, to execute justice on all the guilty, without respect to persons.

The feelings of Joanna on receiving the intelligence conveyed to her by the deputation of nobles, are best expressed by the words of the letter which she wrote to the king of Hungary shortly after —“ I hear that many wonder that I have suffered the parricides who have slain my husband, and your brother, to remain unpunished. What is this, then? Why do the people accuse me of this great iniquity, when I have always dearly loved king Andrew, my excellent husband, and he, as long as he lived, always associated with me without strife? But, whatever the rest of men may suspect, I most wish that you should believe that it has not been possible for me to revenge this great injury done to me, from ignorance of the assassins, and from the difficulties of the times; and that I have suffered so much anguish of mind from the murder of my beloved husband, that I stunned by grief, I had well nigh died of the same wounds.”¹⁷ There is one line in this letter which carries strong internal evidence of the innocence of Joanna. A woman might hate her husband, *even to the death*, yet afterwards want her own affection for him.

¹⁶ Feb. 1346.¹⁷ *Epistolæ Principum.*

and her feigned grief for his loss, but would it ever enter her guilty mind to bear testimony to his gentleness and conjugal kindness? "*Et ipse mecum, sine querela, quamdiu vixerit, versatus semper fuerit.*"

The conclusion is evident—setting apart all obligations human and divine, why should she have sought the death of one who, by her own confession, never opposed her wishes or gave her cause of offence? Or would any woman of common understanding, however hardened in crime, have consented to have her husband called from his slumbers at her side to be murdered on the eve of her coronation, when the general concourse of her subjects to her capital, on that occasion, must more particularly expose the circumstance, and mark her out as an object of universal execration? If the queen had wished to rid herself of Andrew she could have been at no loss for more secret means, in an age when the ingredients of the poisoned bowl were so well understood, and so often prepared.

Hugh de Baux proceeded to execute his commission without delay. Some of Andrew's chamberlains were seized, and, according to the barbarous and absurd practice of the times, tortured to procure confessions. Their examination was to have taken place in the halls of the courts of justice, that their depositions might be heard by all the people, but this was opposed by the

duke of Durazzo, and they were interrogated in his palace. This circumstance makes greatly against that prince ; under his roof and in his presence, men under torture would most likely say whatever, by placating him, would shorten the duration of their torments. No regard for the honour of the queen dictated this precautionary measure, as he laboured only to raise himself by her destruction. The sufferers accused a number of persons, and, amongst others, Charles Artus and his son, Philippa, her son, and son-in-law, and her grand-daughter, and her husband. Some accused of joining in the plot, defended themselves in their strong holds ; while others, amongst whom were Charles Artus and his son, took to flight. The Catanese and her family still continued to reside in the court or capital ; for though the suspicions of the people had been busily at work, no direct accusation had been hitherto made against them. The perfect fearlessness and security they showed in never absenting themselves from their posts, when they might, like others, at any moment have effected their escape, must, in the partial eyes of the young queen, have worn the appearance of innocence. The circumstances attending her widowhood, and the birth of her son, prevented her appearing in public, and afforded Philippa the means of keeping all but her own creatures from her presence ; public opinion had not then the means, as at present, of forcing its

way into the immediate presence of princes. When Hugh de Baux, in the prosecution of his office, appeared before Castel Novo, the queen ordered the gates to be thrown open to him, that he might secure all the guilty ; and the unutterable agony of her feelings can be but faintly imagined, when she saw the woman in whom she had most implicitly confided, and whom she had most fondly loved, dragged from her to torture and death. The unfortunate wretches who were suspected were tortured in a place on the sea shore, and the populace who assembled in crowds to witness the horrid spectacle, were kept at a distance from which they could see all that passed without hearing the declarations of the sufferers. From this spot they were dragged on a sledge to the place prepared for their execution. The aged and decrepid Philippa died in passing from one to the other, but her entrails were torn out and her head was affixed to one of the gates of the city.¹⁸ Her grand-daughter (for whom queen Sancha had answered at the baptismal font), in the bloom of youth and vigour of health, survived tortures too horrible to relate, to be finally burned alive. Such was the cannibal ferocity of the populace, that they are said, not from any desire of

¹⁸ Villani fixes the 2nd of August, 1346, for the death of the count of Trelice, and the count of Evoli ; and the 7th for that of some other barons. Sancha and Philippa had suffered before.

vengeance, but from wanton brutality, to have torn the bodies of some of the dead with their teeth and nails! Some have thought that in crimes of a very atrocious nature and rare occurrence, these barbarous executions might possibly have a salutary effect in the terror they inspire—but no excuse suggests itself for torture preparatory to conviction.

These are truly called the dark ages, not from a deficiency of knowledge, but from the deeds of fraud, cruelty, and depravity, that obscured them. No country in Europe was the scene of more vice and cruelty than Italy, though literature had there nearly reached its acme of perfection; and the more we examine the history of this period, the more we shall be surprised at the progress of mechanic arts and useful inventions. It was the *moral mind* of man that was dark and unformed, and unregulated by any fixed principles of religion or law. The precepts of our divine religion lost their efficacy in the perversions they suffered by interpretations made to suit the interests of an ambitious and corrupt clergy. A sort of moral chaos prevailed; nothing had assumed any permanent form—nothing was certain but change—kingdoms were continually altering their boundaries and rulers—law was but little known, except the law of the strongest. A reputation for consistency of character, so favourable to virtue and prudence, was unsought by any, and never seems to have

suggested itself, as a commendable and necessary quality in a public character. Men changed from day to day, from one party to another, according to the feeling of the moment, without dishonour, and, consequently, without compunction; for to men involved in the busy intrigues of the world, public opinion acts as a second conscience, and often influences them more powerfully than that heaven-born, but secret, monitor which should uniformly direct their actions.

If no other sorrow had ever marked the life of the queen of Naples, her crown was dearly purchased by the agony of her feelings—and if remorse added its sting to their poignancy, no greater punishment need have been desired—as she thought of the sufferings of the playmate of her childhood, the companion of her earliest and happiest hours, and of that woman who had received the first and the last sigh of her father, who had soothed the death-bed of her mother—from whom, till that period, she had never been separated for a single day of her life—whom her royal pregenitors, for two generations, during a space of forty-five years, had *delighted to honour*. Joanna's affection for Philippa and her family has always been charged against her as “the head and front of her offending;” as if she had herself chosen her as her companion and guide; but when we consider the peculiar circumstances of the case, nothing can be more natural, or indeed unavoidable.

From the moment of the death of Philippa, who has been considered as the evil genius of Joanna, she conformed to the sad destiny of royalty, which forbids it to trust in any! From the age of eighteen, during a reign of thirty-six years, she was never suspected of having any favourite of either sex. If the frank gaiety of vivacious and inexperienced youth had at any period sanctioned the unfavourable sallies of malice and envy, the most marked decorum of manner and purity of conduct henceforward placed her above their assaults.¹⁹ Dignity and majesty are the first particular observed in every description of her person and manner; mildness, kindness, and affability, rather than vivacity, marked her deportment in private life, whilst masculine energy and firmness distinguished her public conduct.

“It is true,” says Costanzo, “Boccaccio affirms, that in the beginning of her reign, in her early youth, the son of Philippa (the nurse of the duke of Calabria, her father, whom she had reared herself from the cradle), was much favoured; yet, from the time she began to govern, not in name only, but in fact, she conducted herself with so much prudence, that she daily transacted the affairs of state with barons, warriors, counsellors, and other ministers, with such unblemished fame,

¹⁹ Costanzo. Giannone *Essai sur les Mœurs*, t. iv, 79. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*.

that neither the eyes nor ears of envy ever perceived any thing with which to calumniate her, although the minds of men are ever prone to trace every thing to an evil motive, placing in doubt the sincerest virtue.”—“ She was most modest in her manner of living, and the very character of her beauty was rather that of majesty than of softness or voluptuousness.”

Whether this line of conduct was produced by the wisdom of a just-judging mind, anxious to restore a blasted reputation, or by the influence of religion and repentance working on a naturally good heart and excellent understanding, it is impossible to decide—in either case it was an example as rare as commendable. In the one case, endeavouring to atone, by a life of virtue, for the sins she had been betrayed into by the evil counsellors who had constantly surrounded her; in the other, by an attention to the decorum becoming her sex and station, to win back that fair fame which misfortune or imprudence had deprived her of, and which she lived to see restored to all its lustre.

A few months after the execution of Philippa, the empress of Constantinople died at Naples (Oct. 1346); and if this princess had had any share in the death of Andrew, she survived her victim but thirteen months, and died without accomplishing that marriage between the queen and her son Louis for which she had stained her soul with the

foulest crimes. The circumstance of her affording shelter to Charles Artus and his son, in her states in Greece, certainly makes against her, though feminine compassion might wish to save even guilt from the inexpressible tortures inflicted on suspicion.²⁰

Joanna was now deprived by death of the last of her relatives of the elder generation ; her most intimate friends had fallen under the axe of the executioner, and the rebellion of the duke of Durazzo had deprived her of the society of her sister. Openly accusing her of the assassination of Andrew, the duke hoisted the standard of rebellion against her ; his party was joined by those who hoped to profit by the confusion of the state, by his brothers and by Philip of Taranto, on whose extreme youth his arts had worked, whilst Robert, prince of Taranto, now returned from Greece, and his brother Louis,

²⁰ The ultimate fate of Charles Artus and his son is uncertain ; they are said to have been “ privately put to death in the prisons of Benevento, out of respect to king Robert.” By some, Charles Artus is called the natural son of that monarch, but that is not probable, as he would in that case have been called prince Charles, as that king’s natural brother was called prince Galeazzo. But he was, most probably, the husband of the princess Maria of Sicily, his natural daughter. There was a close family connexion of this kind in some way or other, which renders the protection granted him by Margaret of Valois a natural circumstance, without supposing her to have been implicated with him in the crime of which he was accused.

headed the friends of the late king, and the other adherents of Joanna. Both parties levied troops against each other, and watched with dread the movements of the court of Hungary, from which the bishop of Tropea, sent at the head of a solemn embassy by Joanna, on the birth of her son, had not yet returned. Early in the following year (1347) he brought the unwelcome intelligence, that the king of Hungary was forming extensive alliances, and preparing formidable armaments, to invade the kingdom, principally at the instigation of the count of Minervino and his brothers, who, on the death of Andrew, had repaired to the court of Hungary with his governor and Friar Robert, as they dreaded the power of their adversaries, and hoped the Hungarian arms would render their cause triumphant.

The observations the Neapolitan ambassador had made on what was passing at the court of Hungary were fully confirmed by the threatening tone of the king of Hungary's letter in reply to that already quoted, which the queen sent to him by the bishop of Tropea. This letter has often been cited as a model of laconic force.

“Joanna—your former irregular life, your continuing to retain the power of the kingdom, neglected vengeance, and your subsequent excuses, prove you to have participated in the death of your husband — remember, that none may escape the divine and human vengeance due to such enormous iniquity.”

The biographer of Petrarch, who enters into a minute discussion on this subject as connected with the actions and sentiments of that poet, says, this letter is supposed to contain the strongest arguments that can be urged against Joanna ; and Gibbon observes, that the advocate of the king of Hungary, when pleading against her at the bar of the Roman tribune, could add nothing to its logical force and brevity. "The first proof," says De Sade, "is an irregular life." This he dismisses as insupportable, and exposes the inconsistency of those who accuse Joanna of dissolute manners ; but the discussion is altogether such as cannot be introduced with propriety here, let us therefore rest content with the judgment of a late intelligent and learned historian of our own country :—"The name of Joan of Naples," says Hailam, "has suffered by the *lux repetition of calumnies*. Whatever share she may have had in her husband's death, and certainly, under circumstances of extenuation, her subsequent life was not open to any flagrant reproach. The charge of dissolute manners, so frequently made, is not warranted by any specific proof or contemporary testimony." Second proof, "your ambitiously continuing to retain the power of the kingdom." This makes only against the king of Hungary himself, and exposes the real motives of his other accusations. During the life of Andrew, we have seen, on the authority of Petrarch, Gian-

none; Costanzo, and others, that Joanna had no power in the kingdom.²¹ Third proof, “neglected vengeance”—of this the reader will have formed his own judgment from the preceding pages. Fourth proof, “your subsequent excuses”—this De Sade considers as the strongest argument used against Joanna, and reasons on the subject in the following manner:—“It was not becoming a queen to allege excuses to clear herself of so horrible a crime, of which she ought not to suppose she was even suspected. When accused of certain crimes, a great mind refuses to justify itself. This is the part Joanna should have acted if she felt herself innocent; she should have pursued the culprits, and placed herself above suspicion.” We may here observe, that no line of conduct she could have adopted would have shielded her from censure; had she interfered in the first instance, it would have been said that, according to the usual practice of tyrants, she had destroyed the instruments of her guilt to screen herself. The part she acted was the wisest she could have pursued, leaving the administration of justice, in the first instance, to the bishop of Cavaillon, the governor of the kingdom, and to the car-

²¹ Mentre visse Rè Andrea la povera Regina stette senza autorità alcuna.—*Costanzo*, vol. i, 339.

Non meno la Regina Giovanna per la poca età che il marito per la dappocaggine, avea poco autorità nel regno, nè fin qui si può imputare a lei colpa alcuna.—*Ibid.* 343.

dinal of St. Mark, deputed by the Pope for the especial purpose, and when their measures failed, exerting her own authority to procure the punishment of the culprits. In judging of her conduct also in this instance, her youth and peculiar situation are generally overlooked, considering which, we may, without much difficulty, credit her assertion, that her life had well nigh fallen a sacrifice to the agitation of her mind. De Sade continues thus —“ ‘ I defend myself,’ says the queen, in Vencelaus, ‘ you do not believe the accusation.’ This is the only language which becomes a queen accused of crime.” In tragedy we may grant it is, for stage effect, but though we may agree with the gloomy Mandeville, that the worst punishment we could wish our worst enemy is, to defend his reputation; yet Joanna could not hold this dignified silence when the suspicion of crime, serving as an excuse for treason and ambitious enterprise, was hourly depriving her of her rights and the allegiance of her subjects, and preparing the way for her fierce brother-in-law to send his poignard to her heart. Her silence would but have been construed into a tacit confession. But what are her excuses? It is evident De Sade never read the letter he condemns; it contains but a burst of wounded feeling—“ Why do the people accuse me of such great wickedness? I loved my husband, king Andrew, and he lived with me without strife.”

“ Stunned by grief, I had well nigh died of the same wounds.” Can any form of words wear a stronger character of truth and nature ?

Immediately on the receipt of the king of Hungary's letter, the queen assembled her council and laid it before them. It was evident, from its threatening tone, that Louis of Hungary meditated disputing her title to the crown by force of arms, and therefore the council recommended immediate preparations for defence. As the first and most necessary step, they advised her immediately to marry some prince of known valour and ability, as in the present emergency, none, whose interest was not indissolubly united to hers, could be safely entrusted with the command of the troops, or invested with the supreme authority. The choice was confined to the native princes, as the barons of the kingdom and the princes of the blood would not, at this juncture, brook the introduction of a foreign lord. The House of Durazzo having fraudulently obtained possession of the princess Maria, were preparing the way for her to mount the throne on the ruin of her sister, whom, by open resistance and defamation, they were labouring to deprive of the allegiance of her subjects. Robert of Taranto had lately married the daughter of the duke of Bourbon,²² and when he proposed his brother Louis to the council, it was unanimously agreed to recommend the alli-

²² Villani.

ance to the queen,²³ both from the personal character of the prince, then in his twenty-sixth year, and from the *necessity* of conciliating these princes; for had the offer been rejected, they would probably have joined their brother Philip and the duke of Durazzo. It was vehemently opposed by the duke, to whose ambition it was a death blow. This marriage was not concluded for some months. De Sade asserts, that it was at last accomplished by the intervention of Nicholas Acciajuoli, the preceptor and friend of Louis of Taranto. According to the representations of this writer, Louis stood more in awe of the eyes of Joanna, than of the lances of her enemies; and though he braved death for her in the field, he was too deeply enamoured to assume courage to address his suit to her ear himself! If Joanna loved her cousin, how secretly must her attachment have been concealed in the recesses of her own heart, and how glaringly absurd is the inconsistency of this writer, who makes this representation in one page, and in another asserts that Louis had caused Joanna to break her marriage vows, and that she and her paramour, this same timid lover, had been both concerned in the death of her husband in consequence of their guilty passion! Timidity is the attribute of true and virtuous love, but not of that unholy passion which is the child of guilt, the parent of contempt

²³ Costanzo.

and hatred. If Joanna had shown herself to the eyes of Louis capable of the worst crimes, where would have been the respect that rendered him mute in her presence on what he most wished her to hear ; would he not rather haughtily have demanded to share her throne, the promised recompence of the crime to which her fatal love had urged him ? ²¹

To these accusations the near affinity of the parties and consequent association and intimacy, through the mother of Louis, who, except the queen's sister, was her nearest female relative, the great personal beauty and engaging manners of both, laid them peculiarly open in the eyes of an evil-judging world, ever ready to suspect the frank kindness and unrestrained good-will of inexperienced youth of criminality. To have been free from the suspicion of having entertained a previous passion for whomsoever became her

²¹ “Après la mort du Roi André, dont il n'était peut-être pas tout-à-fait innocent, il (Nicholas Acciajuoli) contribua beaucoup au mariage du Prince Louis avec la reine Jeanne, en lui inspirant un certain courage qui lui manquoit pour oser mettre à profit le goût qu'elle avoit pour lui, peut-être parcequ'il etait lui même trop amoureux.”—*De Sade, Mem. Pétrarque*, t. iii. 178.

“ Cette nouvelle dut causer la plus grand joie à Nicolas Acciajuoli qui pouvait se vanter d'avoir mis la couroune de Naples sur la tête de son pupille, soit en lui faisant epouser la Reine Jeanne, soit en le garantissant par sa valeur & ses intrigues de la vengeance du Roi d'Hongrie, soit en l'encourageant & le soutenant dans ses adversités.”—*Ibid.* 184.

to and husband, Joanna must have sought amongst mankind a consort she had never before seen.

Some say the marriage of Louis and Joanna was celebrated without waiting for the Pope's dispensation; others, that it was previously obtained. The elder Villani says it was celebrated on the 20th August, 1347, *with* the dispensation of the Pope, to the great scandal of all zealous christians; and that Clement at the same time named Louis regent of the kingdom.²⁵ Modern writers have very generally fallen into an important error as to its date. The day of the month they have been unanimous in, but not believing that the reward of the supposed crime of Louis would be so long delayed by a faithless wife, in the haste of accusation they have omitted to observe, that it did not take place till two years after the death of Andrew. "The precipitation of Joanna in marrying her cousin for whom she

²⁵ There can be no doubt as to the accuracy of the date here given, which is confirmed by Bouche, Costanzo, Giannone, and Muratori, in his Italian Annals. Muratori, it must be observed, makes no accusation of any kind against Louis of Taranto. The only mention of Louis occurs in the following sentence:—"In the mean time the queen, on the 20th of August (1347), married Louis of Taranto, one of the princes;" adding in the words of Villani, "A marriage at that time disapproved by all zealous christians."

Annali d'Italia, t. xii. 106. Anno Domini 1347.

Villani says, the dispensation for this marriage was procured by cardinal Talerand, the uncle of Louis. This is a mistake; this cardinal was uncle to Charles Durazzo, by his mother.

is suspected of having entertained a criminal passion, a month before the expiration of the first year of her widowhood, affords the strongest presumption of her guilt." This is the *coup de grace* usually given to her reputation.²⁶

History is said to be the "impartial umpire of human affairs, the vindicator of merit, and the scourge of crime."²⁵ It should be so; but, as it is commonly written, we must pronounce of fame, that she is not less blind than love, scattering about her honours and her disgraces with a profuse and undistinguishing hand. Being often the mere echo of fugitive and popular calumnies, and too frequently aggravating them with her own rancorous inventions.

Whilst this marriage was pending, which gave to Joanna a protector to shield her from insult or injury, her mortal enemy, the king of Hungary, took two very decided steps against her; the first was, to demand the investiture of her kingdom for himself, at the court of Avignon, to the exclusion, not only of Joanna, but of the infant Carobert, the heir of that brother whose cause he professed to avenge. But as he was in alliance with the excommunicated emperor Louis of Bavaria, the Pope refused to give public audience

²⁶ Vain were her lamentations, says Mezerai: her tears and cries afforded less proof of her innocence than her marriage with the handsome and engaging prince Louis of Taranto gave of her guilt.

to his ambassadors in consistory, and replied that no criminality was proved against the queen; and that had she even forfeited her throne, the rights of Andrew's son could not be set aside.²⁷ To give an appearance of justice to his cause, he also, at the same time, accused the queen and princes of the murder of Andrew at the bar of Rienzi, the tribune of Rome, involving all the contending parties in the same accusation, as all stood equally in the way of his ulterior object, the crown of Naples. This appeal was made to Rienzi for two purposes. It tended to cast a public stigma on those whom Louis was preparing to attack with more efficient weapons, and it was hoped it would secure the co-operation of that extraordinary man whose power was considerable as the head of a confederacy of the minor states of Italy, and whose wisdom was thought to promise to Rome the revival of her ancient empire.

The royal family of Naples, unwilling to wear the appearance of shunning an open inquiry, or to excite the enmity of the tribune, did not disdain to plead by their advocates at his judgment seat. Rienzi heard the several pleadings, seated on his throne with his customary pomp, but dreading to draw down the vengeance of either party on his infant power, with the prudence which as yet marked his actions, he from time to

²⁷ Muratori, *Annali d' Italia*.

time deferred pronouncing sentence on this mysterious subject, and left it undecided to this day.²⁸

²⁸ The count of Minervine went to Rome with the ambassadors of the king of Hungary, and shortly after effected the ruin of the tribune. The rise and fall of Rienzi is related at length by Gibbon, to whom the reader is referred, it being deemed unnecessary to repeat here historical details which are to be found in so many popular works. The count of Minervino, in reward of his services against Rienzi, received from the papal court the lands of a monastery near Lucera. In the grant he was styled "Patrician and Liberator of Rome, Illustrious Champion of the Church." — *Costanzo*.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hungarian Army enters the Neapolitan Territories—Their Success, and Treacherous Conduct of the Duke of Durazzo—A General Parliament convoked by the Queen—She retires to Provence—Grief of the Neapolitans—The Neapolitan Princes meet the King of Hungary at Aversa—The Duke of Durazzo put to death by him—He enters Naples—Treats the Inhabitants with severity—Sends young Carobert and the other Princes of the Royal Family, to Hungary—Horoscope of Louis of Hungary—Flight of the Duchess of Durazzo—Imprisonment of Joanna at Aix—Louis of Taranto and Nicholas Acciajuoli not permitted to enter Florence—They proceed to Avignon to procure the good Offices of Clement VI.

THE king of Hungary did not trust to the resources of his own dominions alone in prosecuting his designs on the crown of Naples, but formed extensive alliances with the Transalpine powers. His enterprise was assisted by contributions of men and money from the king of Poland, the duke of Austria, Louis of Bavaria, emperor of Germany, the marquis of Brandenburg, and others of the minor princes of Germany; some of the northern princes of Italy also joined his standard, and he took into his pay many of those bands of German freebooters who were

ready at every call to invade and desolate the fair soil of Italy. But notwithstanding the number and valour of the troops he assembled against them, it is acknowledged, that had not the spirit of disunion prevailed in the royal family, and the efforts of Louis and Joanna been paralyzed by secret treachery, his invasion would have been wholly fruitless.¹ As early as the month of March, 1347, a rebel baron had established himself at Aquila, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, where, in the following May, Nicholas the Hungarian, the governor of Andrew, who, in conjunction with Friar Robert, had followed those measures which led to the destruction of his pupil, arrived with large sums of gold, with which he corrupted many from their allegiance to the queen, and renewed his connexions with all his former creatures. In the month of October the first division of the Hungarian army entered the kingdom, commanded by the bishop of the five churches, the natural brother of Louis of Hungary, “*a wise man and a good soldier.*”² Moved by the bribes and intrigues of the Hungarian party, and terrified by denunciations of the vengeance of Louis, who treated all who opposed him with the utmost rigour as rebels, many towns and castles surrendered without resistance to his arms, and some of the great barons joined his standard, moved by enmity to the princes of the blood; for their

¹ Villani.

² Ibid.

popularity or unpopularity was almost equally detrimental to the cause of the queen.

The duke of Durazzo finding himself, with the other princes, still more obnoxious to the hatred of the king of Hungary than the queen herself, for a short period joined her party, in the beginning of 1347, but not until after he had essentially injured her cause by his malicious accusations and contumacious opposition, and without being able to bring back those to their allegiance who had supported his first rebellion. A vigorous opposition was made to the Hungarians, and many sieges conducted, to drive them out of the places into which they had been received, but without effect, as at the end of the three months customary service, the royal vassals dispersed, as the treasury afforded no funds to keep them in pay; and the duke of Durazzo, on the queen's marriage in the month of August, raised the siege of Aquila, which had been hitherto conducted with success, and retired in disgust to his own states. The parties into which the kingdom was divided, the unpopularity which the haughty spirit of most of the princes had inspired, and the prevalence of the opinion that the queen had been concerned in the murder of Andrew, rendered the great mass of the people indifferent as to the royal cause; but notwithstanding these disadvantageous circumstances, such were the exertions of Louis of Taranto, that when the king of

Hungary entered the kingdom in the month of December, an army sufficient to have stopped his further progress was assembled at Capua.³ On the frontiers of the kingdom the papal legate advanced in form to meet the Hungarian monarch, and commanded him to retire, and not to intrude himself into the fief of the church, but to desist from the further prosecution of an unjust resentment against an innocent family, saying that *two only* had been guilty of the murder of Andrew, and that those two had been executed.⁴ To this prohibition Louis haughtily replied, that he was come to take possession of a kingdom which belonged to him in right of his grandfather; that when he had done so, he should treat with the Pope on the subject; that, in the mean time, he should concern himself little for an undeserved excommunication, and that as for the murder of his brother, rather a dozen than *two*⁵ had been concerned. After this bold defiance of the papal authority, the Hungarian army pursued its march to Naples by the way of Benevento.

Unfortunately for the cause of Joanna, and

³ Per li piu si stimò che se messer Luigi di Taranto e gli altri baroni e reali del regno ch'erano ragunati a Capova, fossono stati d'accordo, e messisi al contrasto, mai non avea la signoria.—*Villani*, lib. xii. cap. 114.

⁴ If it had been mentioned who the two were who were alluded to by the legate, some light would have been thrown on this mysterious transaction.

⁵ *Villani*.

fatally for himself, the duke of Durazzo about this period recommenced his treacherous practices against her. As the success of Louis of Hungary was still very doubtful, he hoped, by betraying her, to placate his wrath ; and knowing the Neapolitans would not long submit to his government, he expected, finally, to establish Maria on the throne of Naples by the ruin of both the parties who now contended for it. Whilst he followed the standard of Joanna, he kept up a secret intelligence with the Hungarian camp. Many of the nobles pursued the same conduct, and either courted the favour, or deprecated the wrath, of the king of Hungary, who, fired by ambition and breathing vengeance, terrified the meaner herd by the ill-omened aspect of his sable standard, on which was horribly depicted the murder of Andrew. To render the effect of this portentous banner more impressive, it was borne and surrounded by a chosen band of mourners habited in black.

In this state of affairs, judging her cause to be utterly hopeless, from her inability to distinguish her friends from her enemies, the queen resolved to yield to a storm she could not avert, and to retire to Provence. To save her kingdom from the ruin which must be the effect of continuing the contest, let the result be what it might, she summoned a general assembly of the nation at Naples, consisting of deputies from the nobility

and the chief cities, and the governors of the capital itself, and publicly absolved them from their allegiance.⁶ The father of Joanna is recorded to have *spoken by his wise men* in the public assemblies of Florence; but she, trusting in her own powers, addressed her assembled people herself, in a strain of eloquence that left an indelible impression on their minds, and contributed much to her restoration to her throne.

Her address began by stating, in undisguised terms, “the danger which threatened the capital from the approach of the king of Hungary, now almost at its gates, and her inability to resist him, from the effect of the calumnies of those who, without any crime of her own, had accused her of the most atrocious iniquity, insensible to the pity they should have felt for their queen, who, in the earliest bloom of youth, had been the victim of misfortune.” She then declared her resolution to leave the kingdom “in order to make manifest her innocence to the vicar of God on earth, as it was known to God in heaven, and to force the whole world to acknowledge it from the assistance she felt the certain hope of receiving from the Almighty himself. But unwilling that her nobles or people should be afflicted as she had been afflicted, she would spare them the misery which a contest with the Hungarians would draw down on them, and therefore, though she felt assured that

⁶ Costanzo.

neither the barons nor the people would refuse to defend her just rights in arms, if not for her own merits (for they knew that till that hour she had been a queen in name only, without power to do good to any one), at least for the love they bore the memory of her father and grandfather,—she yielded her rights for the public good; and absolving the nobles and people from their oaths of allegiance, commanded them to make no resistance, but freely to go to the enraged king of Hungary, and tender him their submission in person, delivering the keys of towns and castles, without awaiting the summons of herald or trumpet.”

The inexpressible grace and touching eloquence of Joanna, moved the assembly to tears.* Calm and magnanimous, she alone was sufficiently composed at this affecting moment to speak; and animated by the unequivocal sympathy she excited, she bid them “cast away despondency, and share with her the cheerful hope she felt in the justice of God, who, she could not doubt, would display her innocence to the world, and restore her to her kingdom and her fair fame.”

To one convinced of the innocence of the persecuted Joanna, nothing can be imagined more affecting than this young and lovely woman thus commanding herself, and melting the stern warrior and rough burgher into tears at her feet. “If there be any thing touching in nature it is the tears of proud man; if there be any thing

* Costanzo.

* Giannone.

sublime, it is the mild fortitude of weak woman." The profound silence which had reigned in the assembly on the first address of the queen, was now broken by clamorous exclamations, imploring her to remain, and dare every hazard, the nobles vowing to maintain her on the throne at the risk of their own and their children's lives.

It is not to be supposed that one of the most captivating women the world ever saw, could appeal in vain to the sympathy of man in this age of chivalry, when devotion to beauty was carried to a degree of enthusiasm often bordering on madness. Even those, in whom age and experience had chilled the ardent enthusiasm of manhood in its prime, were not less profoundly affected by her address, and whilst they applauded and confirmed her sage resolution, as the most effectual method of ultimately securing the success of her cause, they vowed never to remain at rest till they had procured her return, and to devote their lives and fortunes to her service. The 15th of January was accordingly fixed for Joanna's embarkation for Provence, and three gallies were provided to convey her and her household, with her most precious effects and attached friends. The people of Naples had hitherto been divided between horror of the crime attributed to her, and early affection formed in her happy childhood, when she had been the delight of

every eye, "having grown up familiarly amongst them from her cradle."⁹ The latter sentiment now alone prevailed, heightened by pity for the misfortunes which, under any point of view, had been drawn down on her by the evil agency of others, and by "admiration of that wisdom which began to display itself in all her actions, and gave promise of what she one day proved."¹⁰ Their regrets were unanimous and vehement, and when she bade adieu to the mansion of her father, every man and woman in the city repaired to the scene of embarkation to kiss her hand, or catch a last sight of her beautiful form as she stood on the deck of the galley, which every moment lessened to their view.¹¹ Both sexes wept bitterly as she left the shore; and as long as the gallees could be seen, even as a small speck on the ocean, they were watched by the anxious crowd; and when they could no longer discern the frail bark which was to bear their young queen, in the depth of winter, through a voyage which the nautical ignorance of the age rendered dangerous, they repaired to the churches, and surrounding the altars, invoked every saint to grant her a prosperous voyage. As Joanna sailed past the gloomy Castel del Ovo, situated on an isolated rock in the bay, she might have caught a last glimpse of the form of her child, whom she was destined never more to see,

⁹ Costanzo.¹⁰ Giannone.¹¹ Costanzo.

and who was kept there as in a place of security, by his guardians appointed by the Pope. For the first three days she was consoled by the society of her husband and her sister-in-law, the princess of Taranto, who, in the disturbed state of the kingdom, was sent by her husband to a more secure asylum with her father; but on the 18th Louis and the princess landed on the neutral territory of Italy and proceeded to Florence,¹² the latter accompanied by Nicholas Acciajuoli, on an important mission to that city, whilst Joanna pursued her melancholy voyage, coasting round the shores of Italy, to Nice.

A few days after the departure of the queen, intelligence reached Naples, that the king of Hungary had taken and sacked the town of Sulmone, which had disdained to profit by her parting license and command, to yield without resistance. On this, the princes of the royal family sent an embassy to Louis, and obtained from him a safe conduct, and a declaration that he considered them innocent of the murder of his brother. Trusting in this safe conduct, in their affinity, and in the laws of chivalric honour, then deemed inviolable, they went in a body to meet him at Aversa. They were received with every appearance of good will by Louis, and as he had

¹² Costanzo and Giannone say, that Louis and the princess of Taranto went with Joanna:—Villani, that they followed her—in either case Louis landed on the Italian shore on the 18th.

already assumed the title of king of Jerusalem and Sicily, they performed their homage according to the customary form, kissing him on the mouth, after which they all eat together. Either of these circumstances rendered their persons sacred according to the laws of knighthood, and Louis had now plighted his faith to protect those who ranked as his vassals. After the repast, the king armed himself and all his people cap-à-pie, yet keeping the princes and the Neapolitan nobles who accompanied them unarmed. When they were again on horseback, with the intention of proceeding to Naples, he said to the duke of Durazzo, who rode in seeming amity at his side, "*Lead us to where my brother Andrew was killed.*" Terrified at these ill-omened words, and at the expression of ferocity which appeared in his countenance, the duke replied, "*Don't trouble yourself about that, I was never there.*" Louis, however, persisted in his demand, and on arriving at the monastery of the Celestine brothers, they dismounted, ascended to the gallery above the hall, and went out on the balcony above the garden. Here the king, in a transport of fury, said to the unfortunate Durazzo, "You have been a false traitor, and compassed the death of your lord my brother, and intrigued in the papal court in conjunction with your uncle, the cardinal of Perigord, who at your request delayed and endeavoured altogether to prevent his coronation

which should, as was fitting, have been performed by the sanction of the pope; and this delay was the cause of his death. With fraud and deceit you obtained a dispensation from the pope, to take your cousin, his sister-in-law, to wife, in order that by the death of him and the queen Joanna his wife, you might become king in their stead. And you have been in arms against our power with the traitor, the lord Louis of Taranto, our rebel, who has done as you have done, and with fraud and sacrilege has married that iniquitous and adulterous woman, traitorous to her king and husband, who was Andrew our brother; and therefore it is fitting you should die where you caused him to die.”¹³ Durazzo, with earnest protestations asserted his innocence and prayed for mercy. “*How can you excuse your self?*” interrupted the stern Louis, producing letters in his name to Charles Artus concerting the murder of Andrew and sealed with his customary seal. Without giving him an instant to examine or disown the document, he called forward an Hungarian noble, who as had been previously ordered, stabbed the unarmed Durazzo in the breast, whilst another took him by the hair; the first assassin then aimed a blow at his throat, which did not sever his head from his body, but of which he soon after expired.

We cannot but pronounce the death of the duke of Durazzo, a murder under circumstances

¹³ Villani.

of the foulest treachery—he was not suffered to plead in his own defence, had no trial, no examination, no witness produced against him, but these very doubtful letters. Could they have been substantiated, his guilt would have been undeniable ; but with the means of daily access to Charles Artus, why should he have committed a matter of such importance to writing. And if he had written such letters, how did they come into the possession of the king of Hungary. Charles Artus had not then been taken, the duke had been at Naples at the time of his flight ostensibly aiding every inquiry with ample means of possessing himself of any dangerous document that might exist against him. The seal of Durazzo was easily imitated, as his armorial bearings were known all over Europe ; and with his hand-writing the king of Hungary was probably but little acquainted. Suspicious against him arose from his fraudulent marriage with the princess Maria, and his subsequent conduct to the queen : that he aimed at the crown was evident, and his real crime, in the eyes of Louis, was, his marriage and the danger of his pretensions. The death of Andrew appears to have been set up by the king of Hungary as a pretext to the world at large, for his persecution of the royal family of Naples, and as a shield between him and his conscience, under which to shelter the cruelty and injustice of his proceedings. His

inconsiderate fury, in this instance, irreparably injured his own cause, and was of the most essential service to Joanna; his ferocious and faithless conduct in the transaction revolted the feelings of all classes against him, whilst he at the same time rid her of a rival, far more dangerous than himself, and by the pretext he availed himself of, to justify his murder of Durazzo invalidated his accusations of the queen, as all justly concluded, that on the terms they had been on, *both* could not have joined in the same mysterious plot against Andrew.

The resentment of the king of Hungary against the man who had robbed him of a bride, whose hand he not only desired to possess, from political motives, but from the glowing descriptions, sent him by the artful friar, of her beauty and accomplishments, was not even to be placated by his death. Throwing the body of Durazzo over the balcony, he forbade any, on pain of death, to inter it, till his pleasure should be known. The other princes, uncertain of their ultimate destiny, were, for the time being, confined in the castle of Averna, after which, Louis set out for Naples, sullied with the blood of a man, whom, not three hours before, he had suffered to kiss him in token of peace and amity,—with whom he had so lately broken bread, and whom, contrary to all the laws and privileges of chivalry, he had attacked unarmed, without allowing him an opportunity to

defend his fame and his life against his accusers in single combat — a practice which, however inadequate to the ends of justice, at least checked the prevalence of false accusation.

Half way between Naples and Aversa he was met at Melito by the major part of the inhabitants of the capital, who saluted him with the most profound reverence : this he disdained to notice, but passing on with contemptuous scorn he entered Naples, as if it had been a conquered town, in full armour, with his helmet on his head, preceded by his terrific banner, and he refused to pass under the canopy of state brought out by the chief nobility. Exasperated at the affection which had been displayed for Joanna at her departure, he refused to see the governors of the city and the deputies of the nobility, and ordering the keys of Naples, in token of conquest, to be carried to Hungary, he let loose his soldiers, with orders to pillage and raze all the residences of the royal family, from which the terrified citizens anticipated the destruction of the entire city.¹¹ But Louis, dreading the effects of their despair, forbid a general pillage. A fresh inquisition was made into Andrew's death, and many nobles were executed on that pretext, which was resorted to, to destroy all those who were inimical to the Hungarian party, or whose offices excited their cupidity. But another object of these

¹¹ Costanzo.

mock trials was completely frustrated, since neither torture nor the fear of death could procure from any an accusation of the queen.

The child of Andrew was now brought by Louis from Castel del Ovo, and loaded with caresses; but pretending that he was insecure in the kingdom of Naples, he sent him with the other princes to Hungary, where the elder part of the family were confined in the castle of Visgrade, in a tolerably roomy prison, says Villani, with *little to have and less to spend*. Historians have neglected to comment on the circumstance of Joanna leaving her child behind; as her enemies have proffered no censure on the subject, and her friends have thought defence unnecessary, we may conclude that the separation was unavoidable on her part, and that Carobert's guardians being appointed by the Pope, would not consent to his removal without the pontiff's command. The difficulties of the times would not permit of Joanna's enforcing compliance with her wishes. Had she even been devoid of the natural feelings of a mother, which must have been peculiarly vivid in a character like hers, political considerations must have made her anxious to have possessed the person of the heir of her crown, and not to leave him to be educated by her enemies in ambitious hostility and aversion to her, in her double relation of mother and queen. However ~~painful~~ to her feelings, it was fortunate for her

reputation, that he was taken from her care, for as he died at an early age, it would probably have been said he was purposely made away with, to make room for the children of her second marriage, or to prevent his avenging the injuries of his father, with as much confidence, and as little justice, as other crimes have been laid to her charge.

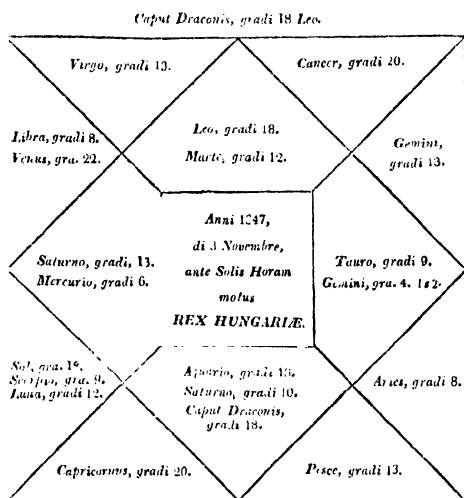
The astrological superstition of the times was busy with the progress of the king of Hungary. The drawing of his horoscope, with the remarks of Villani, afford a memorial of the credulity of the age, too curious not to demand insertion here. "It is reported by the astrologers who came with him from Hungary," says the Florentine historian, "that he set out from his own land on the 2d of November, before sun-rise, when his planet, Mars, was lord of the ascendant,"¹⁵ which

¹⁵ We presume that Mars was the planet of Hungary, perhaps because the arms were a field gules, emblazoned Mars (with four bands argent for the four rivers, the Drave, the Save, the Danube, and the Boristhenes). Jupiter was applied to the royal house of France, probably for the same reason as the field azure is emblazoned Jupiter; and if this conjecture hold good, Jupiter was also the planet of the queen of Naples. We may observe, for the encouragement of the favourers of astrology, that this was a period of peculiar disaster to the house of France as well as of Naples. Venus is sextile with Mars in the figure. The writer not being "a master in astrology," subjoins the original for the satisfaction of the initiated.

ascendant appears to be, that the sign of the Scorpion was at the ninth degree. His planet, which is Mars, was in the tenth house, called the

“ Il quale ascendente pare, che fosse il segno dello Scorpione a gradi 9, e lo suo signore pianeta cioè Marte, il quale era nella decima casa, che si dice casa reale, e nella faccia di Giove, e termine di Venere fortunata; e nel segno del Leone sua triplicità è attribuita al paese d'Italia, e con capo di dragone fortunato e forte.”

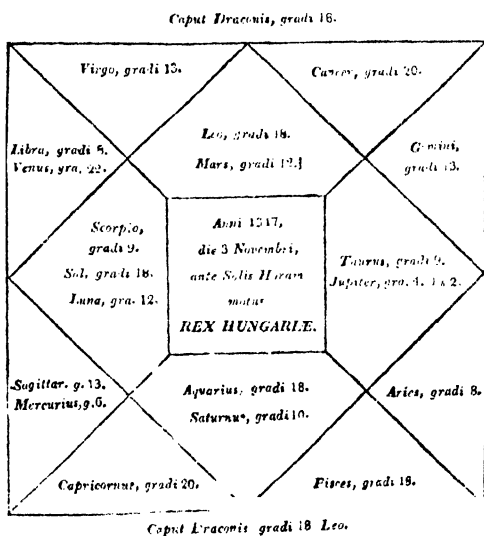
Gio. Vill. vol. viii. cap. cxiv. p. 278.



This scheme is evidently incorrect, Saturn is placed in two signs, and one of the twelve is left out. The ambitious sons of Leda, not content with their own share of the heavens, have, like the king of Hungary, forcibly entered into the dominions of their neighbour, to the great injury of the planet Jupiter, who is expelled from the place he should fill (Villani observes in another place, that Jupiter was with the sun at the preceding vernal equinox). The subjoined

royal house, facing Jupiter, and sextile with Venus the fortunate. And in the sign of Leo, his triplicity is attributed to the country of Italy, and with the head of the Dragon fortunate and strong, which clearly showed in part, what should occur in his fortunes." For the other significations and his end, let him judge who is a master in astrology. But let it be noted, that when the king entered the Neapolitan territory on the 24th of December, his planet, Mars, had begun to retrograde, and when he entered the city on the 23rd of January it had retrograded.

scheme has these inaccuracies corrected. We may observe the precession of the equinoxes from this scheme. On the 3rd November, 1349, the Sun was in the eighteenth degree of Scorpio; in 1823, on the same day, he was in the tenth degree only.



Amidst the horrors which attended the entrance of Louis into Naples, the young duchess of Durazzo was precipitately informed of the murder of her husband, and had scarcely time to escape from Castel Novo ere the ruthless conqueror entered its gates. Maria had waited there in anxious expectation of his arrival in amity with her husband, doubtless with mixed feelings of dread and curiosity, to receive the man to whom her hand had once been destined. Now, dreading the vengeance of the ferocious king, as much as she had formerly abhorred his love, she concealed herself in some of the neighbouring buildings, for the remainder of that horrid day, a prey to inconceivable anguish, and dreading every instant to have her children torn from her arms to be sent to the dungeons of Hungary. Widowed, like her sister, at the age of eighteen, in the fatal gardens of Aversa, her lot was still more pitiable, for the fallen duke had been her own choice, the object of her early and fond affections, and the instrument of saving her from an alliance she abhorred. As soon as the shades of night afforded the chance of escape, she issued from her concealment, disguised in the garments of squalid poverty, and with her two children in her arms fled to the monastery of Santa Croce. Her wretched and helpless condition moved the pity of the brotherhood. The cold remains of her husband lay yet unburied on the earth—her

sister, driven from the soil of their joint inheritance, was exposed to the chances of a watery grave—all her other relations were in the dungeons of the invader. The elder of the two infants she carried in her arms could scarcely yet articulate its wants, and a third soon to see the light, rendered the fatigues and anxiety she had endured to save them, nearly insupportable; as alone and unprotected, cast out in the attire of a beggar, she had traversed the streets of that proud city of which she had been all but queen.

With great danger to themselves, the charitable monks of Santa Croce, concealed her for a few days, during the strict search that was made for her. By their means, a few of her friends were assembled to conduct her to Provence, and disguised as one of the order, she succeeded at last, after undergoing many hardships and perils, in accomplishing her purpose. Here she sought protection and consolation in the arms of her sister, whom she found almost as desolate as herself, separated from every former friend and relative, in captivity at Aix, the capital of Provence. On the 20th of January the queen had landed at Nice, and had proceeded as far as Aclisi on her way to Avignon, when she was met by the prince of Orange,¹⁶ the count of Soult, and some other of the Provençal nobility who seizing all her suite sent them back to the prisons of Nice; and conducted

¹⁶ See *Appendix XV* for this title.

Joanna herself, though with every mark of respect and courtesy, as a state prisoner to the palace of the ancient counts of Aix, where she was not permitted to communicate with any but those they placed about her, except in their presence. Such was her entrance as countess of Provence, to the palace of her ancestors, whose now desolate halls the poetry of her favourite troubadours had so often presented to her imagination as the scene of magnificence and revelry, and all the accompaniments of “*Lou science gaie*,” in its best and brightest hours.

Such a line of conduct, so different from what Joanna had expected from the chivalrous devotion of her gallant Provençal vassals, however unpleasant in its effects, was produced by a feeling not ungratifying in its origin. The emissaries of the king of Hungary had been busily employed in endeavouring to excite disaffection in Provence as well as Naples; but finding the steady loyalty of the nobility not to be diverted from the cause of their young queen, they availed themselves of this very feeling, to excite universal tumult and dissatisfaction, by persuading a proud and generous race, that the object of her journey to Avignon, was to meet her cousin John, duke of Normandy, afterwards king of France, to sell her French dominions to him, in order to prosecute the war in Naples with more effect. Neither their pride nor their affection for the race of their

ancient lords could brook this transfer; and to prevent the supposed sale taking place, they kept the queen in an honourable captivity, rendered as little irksome as possible, by the utmost refinement of courtesy and respect.

Under these circumstances, the meeting of the royal sisters must have been peculiarly affecting, and productive of consolation in their mutual misfortunes. Separated from her own child, the innocent babes who had shared the dangers and hardships of their youthful mother, became peculiarly dear to the heart of Joanna; and burying in his grave the memory of the injuries the duke of Durazzo had done her, she educated and cherished the children he had left, with parental tenderness.

In the mean time, Louis of Taranto and Nicholas Acciajuoli had proceeded to Tuscany, in order to bring from thence, Angelus Acciajuoli, bishop of Florence, the brother of Nicholas, a man of great weight and authority at the papal court. The fate of Joanna and Louis depended on their reception there; the conduct of the pope and cardinals must decide their future portion of honour or infamy. Driven from one kingdom and imprisoned in another; the paternal protection of the pope could alone restore Joanna to power and fame, whilst his fiat might precipitate her to the dungeon or scaffold—such a counsellor and advocate as the bishop of Florence was therefore invaluable.

When the prince and his Mentor, however, reached the confines of the Florentine territory, they were met by messengers from the magistrates of the city, forbidding them to enter their state, lest their reception should draw down the vengeance of the king of Hungary on the defenceless city. The citizens of the Guelph party who desired to receive Louis with honour, were highly indignant at this timid, though perhaps necessary, precaution. The brother and the uncle of Louis had lost their lives in their service, in the field; his father and the father and grand-father of Joanna had conferred innumerable benefits on them. But notwithstanding these powerful claims on the gratitude of the Florentines in general, the magistrates strictly prohibited all communication with the illustrious fugitives; and Louis was therefore obliged to remain for ten days at the castle of Valdipeso, a fief of the Acciajuoli family. This circumstance was the more grating to the feelings of the major part of the citizens, as within a month of this time Philip Gonzaga, of Mantua, returning from Naples, from the service of the king of Hungary, was received with those honours they had wished to have bestowed on Louis of Taranto. "Our rulers," said they, "receive within the city and pay honour to the Ghibeline tyrants who have been leagued in arms against our commune with our enemies, and yet would not receive prince Louis of Taranto."¹⁷

¹⁷ Villani.

Nicholas Acciajuoli, however, succeeded in procuring two armed galleys from Genoa, with which they proceeded to the shores of Provence. Here the unwelcome intelligence of the captivity of the queen reached them, and they found they could not land in safety either at Nice or Marseilles, as the barons were in open rebellion and the emissaries of the king of Hungary in full activity. They landed therefore at Aigue-morte, in the territory of the king of France, from whence, following the course of the Rhone, they reached Villeneuve, which is separated only by that noble river from Avignon.¹⁵ The prince remained at Villeneuve, whilst the bishop of Florence and his brother proceeded to Avignon, to confer with the Pope on the measures to be adopted to quell the tumults and procure the liberation of the queen.

¹⁵ From Aigue-morte Saint Louis had sailed for Egypt exactly a century before.

CHAP. IX.

Description of Avignon—Magnificence of the Papal Court—Joanna's Release procured by Clement VI and the Duke de Berri—Her Splendid Entrance into Avignon—Received in Consistory and pleads her own defence—And is declared free from even the suspicion of guilt—Receives the Allegiance of the Provençal Barons.

IN the year 1348, Avignon presented a mixture of splendor and poverty not uncharacteristic of the age. The houses of the native inhabitants were low and ill-built, the town not having yet recovered from the devastation committed by the order of the papal legate, who commanded the crusade against the count of Toulouse and the Albigeois, in 1226. Not content with razing three hundred houses with turrets, and filling up the fosses with the ruins, the inexorable spoiler mulcted the inhabitants in a sum of such magnitude, that in a hundred years after, they had not recovered from the poverty it occasioned. The pious mind loves to trace, even in this world, the retributive judgments of Providence. The long-continued residence of the papal court at Avignon, was an involuntary reparation for the unjust vengeance it had exercised

within its walls, and that residence was one of the most efficient causes of the abasement of a power then so cruelly abused.

Whatever might have been the poverty of the original inhabitants, the pope and cardinals vied with each other in the erection of stately towers and palaces, not only within the city, but beyond its precincts, on the delightful banks of the Rhone. "What a shame," says Petrarch, "to see these people raising magnificent palaces resplendent with gold, and superb towers which threaten the skies in this new Babylon, whilst the capital of the world lies in ruins." Of these gorgeous palaces, it may be supposed that of the Pope was the most splendid; and though its architecture was defective and its plan irregular, from the various additions made by different pontiffs; yet its remains are still majestic, standing on a noble rock above the Rhone, whose ruined bridges and eager course, suggest to the mind, in the same glance, the image of resistless power, and the inevitable decay of all human greatness, involving in its own essence, the germ of destruction. The impetuous river rushes impatiently by the lordly ruins, now profaned by the residence of the out-casts of mankind,¹ but turns and turns again, as if to meander as of old amidst meadows covered with olive trees, and hills crowned with vines; the deep blue waters

¹ The ruins of the papal palace are used for a prison.

divide and meet again to enclose the richest land, the most varied view that trees, and fields, and islands, can make in the bounded horizon. Here is no wide mass, no hazy distance, nature seems to have lavished all her luxury and beauty to adorn the fairy scene that surrounds Avignon. The Durance winds its course on the other side, and meets the Rhone below the town. Wide avenues of elm belt the town in triple state, and beside them lie numberless boats which have floated down the falls of the Rhone from Lyons, and which are burned in this spot, as it is impossible to ascend the majestic river.

The walls of Avignon, built with small smooth stones, exactly joined,—with battlements of remarkable regularity, and flanked with square towers, are in unison with the diminutive beauty of the whole scene, and seem rather to have been erected to ornament a town sacred to peace and letters, than for the purposes of defence for which they were built in 1358. Their seven gates are of very tolerable architecture :—every thing was regulated in Avignon by this mystic number ; it had seven parishes, seven colleges, seven churches, seven monasteries, seven nunneries, seven hospitals, and, by a strange coincidence, was the residence of seven French popes in succession.²

During the reign of Clement the 6th, the fourth

² Clement V, John XXII, Benedict XII, Clement VI, Innocent VI, Urban V, and Gregory XI.

in this series, the pontifical court assumed a magnificence hitherto unknown. This Pope's immediate predecessors had passed from the shoemaker's-stall and the baker's-trough, to the sacred college and the chair of St. Peter, and therefore knew not what was regal magnificence; but Clement VI, of an illustrious race, affable, open, noble, and generous, had from his birth acquired the habits and manners of a man of condition, who had lived only in the courts of princes. "No sovereign exceeded him in expenditure, nor bestowed his favours with greater generosity. The sumptuousness of his furniture, the delicacy of his table, the splendor of his court, filled with knights and squires of the ancient nobility, was unequalled.³ Delighting in the chase and in horses, his stud consisted of the finest to be procured. Accustomed to the society of ladies, he continued to associate with them when Pope, and his palace (unlike the pontifical residence of modern times which no lady is ever permitted to enter) was open to the fair sex *at all sorts of hours*," says the expressive phrase of De Sade.

The rival beauties of every country resorted to Avignon, some to follow the fortunes of their husbands, some to partake of the pleasures and fêtes which a brilliant court afforded, others to procure advantageous alliances for their daughters.⁴ The viscountess of Turenne reigned supreme in this

³ De Sade.⁴ Ibid.

dissipated court, and possessed unbounded influence over the mind of Clement, which she abused to enrich herself and her family.

Avignon was also the residence of ambassadors from every state in Europe, and was frequently visited by their respective sovereigns, many of whom had even fixed residences there. It was also the resort of people of talent and learning, whom the urbanity and munificence of the Pope attracted to his court.

The predecessor of Clement the Sixth had been as remarkable for parsimony as the latter pontiff was for generosity, and to enjoy the revenues of the great sees he kept them vacant as they fell into his hands, on the pretext that he could find none worthy to fill them. Clement, on the contrary, immediately on his accession, promulgated a bull, inviting all the scholars of Europe to his court. It is said, that more than a hundred thousand obeyed the welcome mandate, and that of all that number, not one departed without some favour, it being his favourite maxim, that none should leave the presence of a prince dissatisfied.

Such was the prince, the luxury of whose court and courtiers, the angry eloquence of Petrarch thus describes:—"They are covered with purple and gold, proud of the spoils of princes and people; the most sumptuous feasts have succeeded to the most simple repasts; in

place of the Apostles who went barefoot, we now see Satraps mounted on steeds covered with gold, champing gold, and shortly to be shod with gold, if God does not repress this insolent luxury."

Nicholas Acciajuoli and the bishop of Florence were received by Clement with his usual benig- nity ; and in order to quiet the fears of the Pro- vençal nobility, and procure the release of the queen, he prevailed on the duke of Normandy to return immediately to France. The duke de Berri, also at Avignon at this period, zealously exerted himself in favour of his fair and illustrious kinswoman ; visiting each of the nobles in turn, and pledging his princely word that there was no truth in the report of the sale of Provence which had been so industriously spread.

The barons, now convinced of their error, flocked round the queen with assurances of duty, and after she had formed a new court, se- lected from the Provençal nobility, she proceeded to fulfil that object that was nearest her heart, her public justification at the court of Avignon.

On the 15th of March, at a short distance from that town, she was met by a procession of the municipal authorities and the inhabitants, the various religious orders, the chief prelates, and the whole sacred college, consisting of eighteen cardinals, in their scarlet robes and hats, whose magnificence of apparel and equipage so often

excited the indignant comments of the poet of Vaucluse.

Thus splendidly escorted, and accompanied by Louis of Taranto, the bishop of Florence, and Nicholas Acciajuoli, now chancellor of Provence, and by her gay and gallant Ultramontane knights, and their fair ladies, Joanna entered Avignon with all the insignia of royalty; the milk-white palfrey caparisoned with azure and gold, the crimson robe, the ermined mantle of purple strewn with the golden fleur-de-lis, with the crosses of the kingdom of Jerusalem glittering on her shoulder, and bearing the orb and sceptre, and the open crown fleur-de-lizée. Over her head was carried the dais, or canopy of state; in form, an oblong square frame, with a narrow border, ornamented with gold and fringes, each corner marked by a raised ornament, from which depended four gilt poles, carried in turn by nobles of the highest rank, in their splendid surcoats and coronets, standing at a sufficient distance from the principal figure to display her magnificence and beauty to every spectator.⁵

The streets of Avignon were hung with silk

⁵ Ladies of rank, at this period, rode either in ornamented litters, open or covered, according to the season and occasion, or on side-saddles fashioned like the body of a chair, with low sides and back; but in either case, in solemn processions, the palfrey was conducted by two knights of noble or princely extraction.

and tapestry, gold and silver cloth, and garlands of flowers; and the balconies of the splendid dwellings, that rose amidst the ill-built hovels of the inferior citizens, were crowded with fair and noble ladies, dressed in those costly garments of ceremony which passed from mother to daughter for many a generation. The procession passed slowly along the crooked and narrow streets, impeded in its progress by a confused crowd of the natives of every kingdom of Europe, attracted to Avignon by the residence of the Pope, and stopped at length at the convent of the Ursalines, long the usual residence of the sovereigns of Naples. Here Joanna alighted to receive the customary refreshment of wine and confections, and to allow the cardinals time to arrange themselves in consistory round the pope, who waited to receive her in form.

When the queen entered the consistory, Clement was seated in his state chair of crimson and gold, attired in his dazzling white robes of silver tissue with the triple tiara, only worn on occasions of peculiar solemnity;⁶ in a semi-circle on each side, were ranged the cardinals on lower seats; from the upper end of the spacious

⁶ The triple crown is a cap of cloth of gold, surmounted with the orb and cross, confined by three marquiss's coronets. Two embroidered pendants are attached to it, like those of the Episcopal mitre, and are finished at the end by a number of small crosses of gold.

hall to the entrance, appeared prelates, and princes, and nobles, and the ambassadors of every European power ; among whom those of Louis of Hungary, who had just arrived from Naples, deputed to defend his conduct, and to demand the throne and life of Joanna, as justly forfeited by her, were peculiarly distinguished on this occasion.

Joanna was led into this august assembly between two cardinals, followed by a crowd of her friends and vassals in anxious expectation of the result. As the royal visiter was a female, the doors of the consistory were left open ; had a king been in presence, they would have been closed.⁷ What feelings must have oppressed her heart as she knelt on the threshold of the consistory before judges and accusers, and the representatives of every crowned head in Europe, to whom she was known only through the medium of injurious reports, or deep-rooted prejudices, and by whose sentence she must that day for ever forfeit or recover her crown and fame !

Clement the Sixth, the most refined and accomplished prince of his time, who is described to us as more of the gallant knight than the austere priest, must have had some difficulty to command himself, and to keep his seat unmoved, whilst the queen of Naples knelt a second time in

⁷ Ceremonies of the court of Rome, by John Frederic Braun, printed at Franckfort, 1711.

the centre of the consistory, and a third time at his feet, to kiss, first, the golden cross embroidered on his linen shoe,⁸ and then his hand as the privilege of her royal rank. Clement then raised his fair vassal and kissed her on the mouth,⁹ when, after a few words of filial obedience had been proffered on one side, and of paternal protection on the other, he placed her on the vacant seat prepared at his right hand, a little lower than his own, with a crimson cushion embroidered in gold for her feet.

Louis of Taranto then similarly paid his obeisance to the Pope, kissing his hand and mouth as the privilege of his high birth, whilst Joanna, pausing for a short space, collected all the powers of her mind for the arduous task before her; Nicholas Acciajuoli and a few others, of the most

⁸ The popes now wear red slippers. The holy ensign of the cross was often used in dress to procure marks of homage the wearer would not otherwise have received. In 1363, the father of the doge of Venice, preferred going always bare-headed to pulling off his bonnet to his son, until the latter thought of placing a golden cross in front of his bonnet, the father then re-assumed his hood, and when he met his son pulled it off, saying, "*It is not him I salute, but the cross,*" from that time the cross became an ornament of the Ducal bonnet.—*De Sade, Mem. Petrarque.*

⁹ In the ordinary form of homage, the inferior kissed the superior as a mark of respect, a custom derived from remote antiquity. The kiss of the arch-traitor, which followed his, Hail, Master! was a sign of homage rather than of affection.

distinguished of her suite, were in turn presented to Clement, the object of the queen's visit was declared, and Joanna leaving her seat proceeded to address the august assembly. All eyes were turned on her, and thus attracted were not to be again quickly withdrawn. "Her figure was tall and nobly formed, her air composed and majestic, her carriage altogether royal; her features of exquisite beauty, and with a character of grandeur, had a certain air of natural goodness that softened their expression and won the love, whilst she commanded the respect, of those who beheld her."¹⁰ She was then in the perfection of her charms, though still adorned with the indescribable graces of youth, the exalted character of her air and countenance told that *the sweet uses of adversity* had developed qualities of a higher nature.

But whatever might have been the expectations excited by her countenance and manner, they were far surpassed by the irresistible eloquence of her address to the assembly, which was undoubtedly the most powerful specimen of female oratory history has at any time recorded.

The order she adopted in her defence, showed that she had not in vain studied the master-pieces of Ciceronian eloquence. The points of her defence were first stated with logical clearness, and with so much force, brevity, and perspicuity, that

¹⁰ Maimbourg.

her judges pronounced her *not only innocent, but above the suspicion of guilt*. Having first convinced the understanding of her auditors, she next appealed to their feelings, expressed the utmost horror of the foul crime with which she was charged, with moving pathos deplored the lamentable fate of her hapless consort, and finally appealed to the justice of the pope and sacred college, the supreme judges of Christendom, to proclaim to the world at large, the innocence of a persecuted orphan and injured queen.

The Hungarian ambassadors, utterly confounded, attempted no reply, they had no evidence to produce, nothing with which to combat her arguments, except those vague accusations which alone had ever been adduced in support of the heinous charge against her. An acquittal, as ample as the injured honour of the queen could demand, was unanimously pronounced, and was immediately confirmed by an authentic act.¹¹

¹¹ “ Jeanne arriva en Provence et parce qu'elle y estoit venue non tant pour l'assurance de sa personne contre la vengeance du Roy d'Hongrie, que pour venir se justifier de son innocence devant le Saint Pere Clement VI, elle alla aussitôt le trouver à Avignon où elle fut recue avec tous les honneurs et toutes les magnificences qu' une grande Reine meritoit dans sa propre ville, et où ayant eu audience publique de sa sainteté, en presence de tous les cardinaux et de tous les ambassadeurs et agens de tous les princes de la Chrétienté, elle harangua avec tant de grace et d'éloquence, et apporta tant de bonnes raisons pour sa justification, jointes à de si grandes

This sentence satisfied her contemporaries in general, but modern authors have frequently attributed the favourable decision of the consistory

sentimens de douleur qu'elle temoigna avoir pour la mort d'André, qu'elle rendit muet les ambassadeurs d'Hongrie, et obligea sa sainteté à déclarer qu'elle estoit innocente de crime, *voire du soupçon*, dont on la vouloit faire coupable."—*Bouche*, lib. ix. 373.

"Jeanne n'eût pas plutôt fait son entrée dans la ville d'Avignon et obtenue sentence declarative de son innocence," &c.—*Ibid.*

"Ebbe consistorio publico, ove con tanto ingegno e con tanta facondia difese la causa sua che il papa e il collegio, che aveano avuto in mano il processo fatto contro Filippa Cataneo e Roberto suo figlio, e conosciuto che la Regina non era nominato ne colpata in cosa alcuna, tenero per fermo ch' ella fosse innocente, e pigliarono la protezione della causa sua."—*Giannone*, lib. xxiii.

"Je parle de ce consistoire tenu à Avignon l'an 1348 dans lequel la reine Jeanne en presence du pape, des cardinaux, et des ministres étrangers, fit son apologie avec tant de force, mit son innocence dans un si grand jour, versa des larmes d'une manière si touchante que ses accusateurs (les ambassadeurs d'Hongrie) furent confondus et ses juges deciderent unanimement qu'elle ne devait pas même être soupçonnée du crime dont on l'accusoit." — *De Sade, Mem. Petrarque*, t. ii. 249.

"Pour le meurtre de son premier mari André de Hongrie que plusieurs lui ont imputée, elle s'en est pleinement justifiée, et par la justice très rigoureuse qu' elle fit faire des meurtriers, sans que pas un d'eux l'ait jamais chargée dans les effroyables tourmens qu' ils souffrirent, et par son éloquente apologie qu' elle fit elle-même en plein consistoire devant le pape Clement VI et en presence de tous les ambassadeurs des princes

in part to political motives, and still more to the irresistible effects of her charms. "The beauty and eloquence of the queen of Naples," says the biographer of Petrarch, "would have seduced the Arcopagus itself!"

We can scarcely suppose, that if the queen was guilty of the murder of Andrew in any sense, she would thus voluntarily and boldly have pleaded her own defence. A consciousness of guilt would have paralyzed all her powers from the dread of letting fall some word that might tend to criminate her. The secret whispers of conscience would have arrested the resistless flow of eloquence that carried along with it the feelings of all who heard her, and overpowered all previous prejudice and hostile opposition.

Influenced by the natural bias of the female character towards religious impressions, and educated under the devout Sancha, Joanna was deeply imbued with the mixed piety and superstition of the age. In the sacred presence of him whom the most enlightened of her contemporaries believed "*to fill the place of God on earth*,"¹² we cannot credit that she could so far

Chrétien avec tant de force et de netteté que ce Saint Pontife declara par un acte authentique non seulement qu'elle étoit innocente de ce crime. mais qu'on ne pouvoit pas même soupçonner de qu'elle y eut jamais eû aucune part."—*Maimbourg, Grand Schisme d'Occident*, l. x. 150.

¹² Petrarch.

dare the vengeance of heaven, as to expatiate on the death of Andrew, and shed hypocritical tear for his sad fate. To have done so, she must have possessed a heart in an unparalleled degree hardened to the power of remorse, and to all the timid fears and gentler feelings of her sex. If the particulars of her defence had been transmitted to us, we should probably feel no further doubt on the subject, as it must have supplied those links in the chain of evidence which are wanting to enable us to decide positively on one side or other.¹³

¹³ Latin is the language which has always been spoken in Consistories, in the middle ages, because it was the only one understood by all the members of the various nations of which they were composed. Joanna must therefore have pleaded in that tongue. No mention is made of an interpreter, and the effect of her eloquence is described as immediate and irresistible. She expressed herself with remarkable elegance and facility, both in the Provençal and Italian languages, the transition from the latter to Latin was but small: all her letters and edicts are in the latter language:—princes who did not understand Latin were aided by an interpreter in an assembly of the sacred college. There is a good story told of Sancho, prince of Castile, who, on hearing loud applause in a consistory at Rome, asked his interpreter what was the cause of it. “My lord,” replied the interpreter, “they proclaim you king of Egypt.”—“It does not become us,” said the grave Spaniard, “to be wanting in gratitude, rise up and proclaim his holiness caliph of Bagdad.”

When Francis the First was received by Leo X, in consistory, as a peculiar privilege, he said the few words which de-

On leaving the consistory, etiquette would not suffer the Pope to conduct his fair vassal and *beloved daughter* further than the distance of two chambers, where they separated. The same etiquette also forbid him to visit her residence more than once, but his splendid palace was, as we have seen, accessible at all times; and every mark of honour was bestowed by Clement on the queen and Louis of Taranto, to whom, on the twenty-seventh of the month, he gave the consecrated rose, in preference to the king of Majorca, then at Avignon.¹⁴

On the same day they were conducted round the walls of Avignon, as count and countess of Provence, and jointly received the homage of the assembled barons, on which Louis assumed the title of count of Provence.

The allegiance of this noble race was not lightly proffered. Joanna received from them in every vicissitude of fortune, proofs of generous devotion and incorruptible fidelity. The ties which bound them to her name were not even broken by death; her last behests were implicitly obeyed, even in contradiction to their own wishes and prejudices, and the memory of "*good*

clared his submission to the Holy See in *French*; but the Pope replied in Latin, and the orator of the French monarch addressed Leo at length in the same language.—*Roscoe's Leo the Tenth.*

¹⁴ Bouche. De Sade.

queen Jane,"¹⁵ was idolized in Provence as long as it existed distinct from the French monarchy. Happy had it been for her, had she left the turbulent and fickle Neapolitans to a harsher rule, and passed her peaceful days in the haunts of the muses, on the lovely borders of the Durance and Rhone!

¹⁵ Joanna is constantly thus termed in the history of Provence.

CHAP. X.

The great Plague at Avignon—Wise Precautions of Clement VI—Villani's description of the Origin of the Plague—Boccaccio's account of its Progress—Louis of Hungary driven from Naples by the Pestilence—Joanna's Return thither anxiously desired—Sale of Avignon—Joy of the Neapolitans at the Return of the Queen and her Husband—Marriage of Francis de Baux with Margaret of Taranto—De Baux created Duke of Andria—Measures of Louis and Joanna to expel the Hungarians.

THE usual festivities of the court of Avignon were for a time suspended, and those that would have taken place on the arrival of the queen of Naples, prevented, by one of the most dreadful calamities that ever afflicted the human race. The great Plague, which had already swept away millions from the face of the earth, in its tour of desolation, now visited the plains of Provence.

The Pope, as the best means of escaping the contagion, shut himself up in his palace and kept large fires burning to purify the air, and his example was generally followed by people of condition.

To render the direful malady less fatal at Avignon than elsewhere, the wisest measures were adopted by Clement. He established an exact police to prevent the spreading of the infection ;

paid physicians to attend the poor, and granted a general absolution to all who should perish in attending the sick ; purchased a field without the city for the burial of the dead, and expended large sums in transporting thither the infected corpses.¹ Notwithstanding these precautions, a hundred and twenty thousand souls are said to have perished at Avignon in three months. This number must, however, be an enormous exaggeration. No where was the plague more fatal than at Florence, when a hundred thousand was the utmost calculation of the dead, a number which was greater than that city had before been supposed to contain ; and though the usual population of Avignon was, for a time, considerably increased by the presence of the barons and their retainers, who flocked in from all parts of Provence and Piedmont, to render their personal homage to their countess, yet we cannot suppose it even then to have so far exceeded that of the Tuscan capital. From some of the particulars transmitted to us, we may form a more accurate calculation. The plague raged with the greatest fury at Avignon in **Lent**, and on the three days preceding the last **Sunday**, fourteen hundred died of it.² This would give about forty-two thousand

¹ He paid two grosses, or about 6*l.*, for the carriage of each corpse, and provided winding-sheets for the poor.

Bower's History of the Popes.

² De Sade.

for the three months, but as the plague did not rage with equal violence during the whole of that time, we may estimate the number at about thirty thousand; an immense number for the *third* city in Provence. From the circumstance of the ravages of the plague being greatest during Lent, we may conclude that a generous diet of animal food was the best adapted to resist its attacks, more especially as Villani states it to have been most fatal amongst women and children of the poorer order.^s This historian's account of the

^s Many, during the plague, left their estates to the mendicant friars, who attended the sick whilst all others deserted them. The parish priests, and others of the clergy envying the wealth they had thus honourably obtained, applied to Clement to suppress the order, or at least forbid the mendicants to preach, to hear confession, or bury the dead. The petition of the parish priests was presented in full consistory, and supported by cardinals and bishops. Clement returned the following remarkable answer:—

“The mendicants have exposed their lives by attending dying persons and administering the sacraments to them, whilst you, consulting your own safety, fled from the danger and abandoned your flocks. You have, therefore, no reason to complain of what they have got, as they have got it by performing the duty which you have neglected, though incumbent upon you. They employ the little they have gained in new building, repairing, or embellishing their churches, but you would perhaps have applied it to very different uses.

“You advise me to silence them, and leave the preaching of the Word entirely to you. And what would you preach? Surely not humility, as you are 'nown to be the most haughty and proud set of men on earth, and the most pompous in your

commencement of the plague, to which he shortly after fell a victim, is a curious specimen of the credulity and superstition of the age, and is therefore presented to the reader as nearly as possible in its original simplicity. First premising that the calamities of the year 1348 had been clearly foretold by the threatening aspect of the sun on the 20th Dec. 1347, which stood, at rising, as a column of fire for the space of an hour over the pontifical palace at Avignon! “And though this might happen naturally by the rays of the sun in the manner of the rainbow, yet it was certainly a presage of future calamities, which we shall see was fulfilled.”⁴

“This pestilence was predicted by the masters in astrology, because, at the time of the vernal equinox (1347), that is, when the sun entered the sign Aries of the month of March last past, the ascendant of the said equinox was the sign of the attendants and equipages. Would you recommend poverty and contempt of worldly wealth? you whom no benefices can satisfy, however accumulated! Would you urge fasting, abstinence, and a mortified life, while you fare sumptuously, and indulge yourselves in the most delicate meats? As for your charity, I leave yourselves to consider whether you could, with a good grace, recommend that virtue to others.

“The mendicants preach nothing but what, by their example, they show to be practicable; whereas many amongst you preach one thing and practise the contrary.”

Bower's History of the Popes, who cites the Continuator of Nangius, t. ii. 815.

⁴ Villani.

Virgin, and her lord, that is the planet Mercury, in the eighth house, which is the house that denotes death; and if the planet Jupiter, which signifies life and fortune, had not been, with Mercury, in the same house and sign, the mortality would have been infinite, *if God had so willed!* But we ought to believe, and to hold for certain, that God permits the said pestilence, and other calamities of the people, to visit our cities and our plains, for the punishment of sins, and not *alone* by the course of the stars, but as Lord of the heavens, as he pleases. — And this will suffice, in this place, of the sayings of the astrologers. The said mortality was greater in Pistoja and in Prato than in Florence, and greater in Bologna and in Avignon, and in Provence, where was the court of the Pope, and also throughout the realm of France. But the most dreadful mortality was in Turcomania, and in those countries beyond sea amongst the Tartars. There happened among the Tartars great judgments of God, and marvels almost incredible; but *it is true, clear, and certain*, that between Turigia and Cattay,* in the country of Parca, now the land of Casano lord of Tartary, in India, a fire broke out (either from the bowels of the earth or from the heavens) that consumed men and beasts, trees, stones, and houses, and raged for fifteen days with so much fury, that every inhabitant and living creature that did not

* Cattay, China.

escape by flight, was consumed; and those of the human species who fled from the fire were destroyed by pestilence; and at Tana in Trebisond, and in all these countries, not one out of five survived; and many lands were depopulated by pestilence, earthquakes, and thunder from heaven. And from letters of some of our citizens, that were then in these countries, we learn that there rained at Sebastia, an immense quantity of worms a span long, with eight legs, and black in colour, with tails, some alive, some dead: they filled the whole country with their effluvia; and were most frightful to behold! whosoever attacked or touched them, they stung like wasps or poisonous reptiles. In Soldania (Asia Minor) only women remained; and these, from madness, tore each other in pieces. And they (that is, these letter-writers) relate a more marvellous thing still, and *almost* incredible, that happened in Arcagia; men and women, and every living animal, were turned into stone like statues of marble! The chiefs of the regions surrounding these countries proposed to become christians, but finding that Christendom was afflicted with the same pestilence, they remained in their infidelity. In the port of Talucco, in a country called Lucco, the port swarmed with worms for ten miles out, which came and went to and fro to the seas and shores; on which miracle many were converted to the faith of Christ. And the said pestilence extended to

Turkey and Greece, encircling all the Levant, and Syria, and Chaldea, and Suria, and Cyprus, Crete, Rhodes, and all the islands of the Grecian archipelago, and, in the same manner, all the rivers and shores of our seas. Of eight galleys of the Genoese, trading in the Mediterranean, four only returned from the loss of their crews: and when the sailors of these four arrived at Genoa they almost all died also, and so corrupted the air, that all who approached them died too."

Other historians of this period give an equally marvellous account of the plague: these fables were harmless in their effects, but popular credulity soon assumed a more cruel form. The unfortunate Jews of France and Italy were accused of having caused it by poisoning the fountains. The humane and enlightened Clement, ever the protector of the unfortunate, published two bulls defending the Jews from the crime of which they were accused, and forbidding, on the severest penalties, their being forced to receive baptism to escape death. The Jews flocked to the papal states to escape, by the protection of the Pope, the avaricious cruelties of their other rulers—an illustrious example of religious toleration. The abuses of the papal power have all been held up to the reprehension of mankind, but those numerous instances in which it has, from age to age, been exerted for the benefit of the human race, have been but rarely and coldly noticed.

Voltaire asserts, that the plague is a disease indigenous to the climate of the centre of Africa, as the small-pox is to that of Arabia ; but in the instance now treated of, it is thought to have passed from Asia to the coasts of Africa, and thence to the islands and continent of Europe.⁶ After its first cessation, it broke out a second time, with increased violence, at Florence. Boccaccio, who had retired from Naples on the approach of the king of Hungary, was an eye witness of the misfortunes of his native city, and, by a strange contrast, he, whose name is immortalized as a writer of romances and novels, has described this dreadful calamity in its progress, moral effects, and consequences, with all the truth and nature of the historical models of antiquity, whilst the professed *historians* of the time have disguised it with the miraculous fables of the monkish legend. Boccaccio's description of the plague gives a lively portraiture of the manners of the day in various particulars, for which reason it is here presented to the reader.⁷

“ The years which had elapsed since the fruitful Incarnation of the Son of God, had already amounted to 1348, when the illustrious city of Florence, superior in beauty to all others in Italy,

⁶ Essai sur les Mœurs.

⁷ The reader will, on this plea, pardon the literary misdemeanor of attempting to translate the *inimitable* Boccaccio, in that master-piece which is thought to be the most perfect specimen of prose of which the literature of Italy can boast.

was visited by the deadly pestilence which (whether caused by the influence of the celestial bodies, or sent, for our iniquitous transgressions, by the just wrath of God, for our correction) had some years before commenced in the East; where, having destroyed an innumerable multitude of living souls, it spread from place to place, and fatally extended itself to the West.

“ No human wisdom, no precautions, availed to avert the calamity. In vain, by the orders of the magistrates, was the city cleared of every impurity, its gates closed against all infected persons, and the counsels of the most prudent put in practice for the preservation of health. And equally unavailing were the humble supplications, not once, but often, made to God by devout persons, in solemn processions and other forms.

“ Almost in the commencement of the preceding spring, its sorrowful effects began to display themselves in a horrible and astonishing manner. Its symptoms were not such as they had been in the East, where the bleeding of the nose was a certain sign of death; but with both men and women, certain tumours appeared on various parts of the body, some as large as a common apple, others of the shape of an egg. These tumours came out and died away in succession, leaving black or livid spots wherever they had appeared; on some few and large, on others small and numerous.

These tumours were a certain sign of approaching death, which neither the counsels of physicians nor the virtue of medicine seemed to lighten, diminish, or cure—whether from the nature of the disease, or the ignorance of those who prescribed for it, we cannot say; for the number of these was immense, consisting, besides the learned professors, of a number of women as well as men, who had never, by study, acquired any knowledge of medicine. Almost all of the infected died on the third day after the appearance of the above-mentioned signs, some sooner, some later, without any fever or other suffering. The violence of this pestilence was so great, that it was communicated from the sick to every thing they touched, as flame seizes every thing dry or oily which is in its vicinity. Not only speaking or associating with the sick entailed disease or death on the healthy, but the touch of any thing they had used, conveyed it to others.

“What I am about to relate is a marvellous thing to hear, and one which I would not venture to credit, much less to write, on whatever authority advanced, if it had not passed under my own eyes and those of many others.

“Such was the virulence of the pestilence, that it was not only communicated by touch from man to man, but also to other animals of a different species, whom it not only infected but killed almost immediately. Amongst many other

instances, I once saw the tattered garments of a poor man who had died of this disorder thrown out into the public road, when two pigs happening to pass that way, according to their ordinary habit began to toss them with the snout, and then tore them with their teeth, and in one short hour both, without any other accident, lay dead on the ill-omened rags.

“ From these and similar, or more terrific, circumstances, various fears and imaginations arose in the minds of those who yet remained alive, all tending to one cruel conclusion, which was, to fly from the sick, each hoping thus to save himself. Some thinking that moderation in all things would be the best preservative, shut themselves up in such houses as were free from the baneful presence of any infected person, and carefully avoided all external communication; and in these retreats partook, in moderation, of the choicest viands and most exquisite wines, not speaking nor suffering any one to come to speak to them from without, of death or disease, but solacing themselves with music, and such other tranquil pleasures as they could procure. Others, on the contrary, affirmed, that drinking abundantly, roaming about, gaily caroling and singing, gratifying every wish to the utmost, jesting and laughing at whatsoever might happen, was the most certain preventive of this grievous disorder. And as they said, so they did, to the

utmost of their ability, by night and by day; frequenting now this tavern, now that, drinking without measure or discretion. They still more willingly visited the private houses of their acquaintances in this manner, whenever they understood them to contain any thing that might promote their pleasure or their convenience. In this they met with no hindrance from the inhabitants; for every one thinking he had little time to live, neglected the care of his property, as well as the care of himself. The generality of houses were become common to all, the stranger entered with the same freedom as the master, and appropriated to himself whatever he liked without ceremony, in the midst of all this disorderly conduct, carefully avoiding the sick.

“ In the excess of misery and affliction to which our city was reduced, the reverend authority of the laws, both human and divine, was overthrown, and, as it were, come to dissolution, as most of their ministers and executioners were, like other men, either sick or dead; and so few of their assistants remained, that the magistrates were unable to execute their functions, so that every one was free to do in all things as he liked.

“ Many others, differing from the above-mentioned classes, adopted a course between both; not confining themselves like the first, nor breaking through every restraint, roaming about with dissolute freedom, and passing their hours

in drinking and every species of dissoluteness, like the second ; but moderately satisfying the wants of nature, and without shutting themselves up, they went about, some with flowers, some with odoriferous herbs, and some with various kinds of perfumes in their hands, which they smelt frequently, as the best means of fortifying the brain and repelling infection ; for the whole air was filled and corrupted with the stench of dead bodies, and with the effluvia of the living sick, and their remedies.

“ Some others were of a more cruel opinion (though, perhaps also, a more safe one), and maintained that flight was the only effectual preservative against the plague. Excited by this idea, careless of all but themselves, many of both sexes abandoned their native city, their houses, their property, their relatives, their business, and retired to the country, as if the wrath of God in punishing the iniquity of man, would not proceed further, but oppress those only who remained within the walls of their town ; or, as if they did not perceive that their duty obliged them to remain there and await their last end.

“ Amidst these differing opinions, all did not die, neither did all fly to the country, and many of those in every place who, whilst yet in health, had themselves given the example of deserting the sick, were in turn abandoned by all, when they languished in death.

“ With such terror had this calamity struck the hearts of men and women, that not only one citizen avoided the other, but each became careless of the welfare of his neighbour, relations rarely saw each other, or only at a distance: the brother abandoned his brother, the uncle his nephew, the sister her brother, the wife her husband; and what is more surprising still, and scarcely credible, fathers and mothers deserted their children, as if they were strangers, and feared to visit or serve them.

“ In consequence of these circumstances, no resource remained to the countless multitude of the sick except the charity of friends, and these were few in number, or the avarice of menial servants, who, for exorbitant wages, attended them; but even these were insufficient, and were besides stupid and ignorant, unaccustomed to such offices, and were of no other use than to present to the sick such things as they demanded, or to watch the moment of their death; and in these services multitudes perished by their thirst of gain.

“ The sick being thus deserted by neighbours, by friends, and by relatives, and there being a scarcity of servants, a custom till then unknown became general; no woman, however delicate, or beautiful, or noble, made any scruple to be served by a man, let him be who he might, old or young; and without any feeling of shame, each undressed herself before him as she would have done before

a female attendant, as soon as her malady required his services ; from this cause, many of those who survived lost much of the modesty of their manners.

“ Many who might have been saved by timely aid, died for want of seasonable attendance ; and partly from this cause and partly from the force of the disorder, the multitude of those who died by day and night was horrible to hear of, much more to behold ; and almost by necessity, things contrary to the former manners of the citizens were practised by the survivors.

“ It had been the custom, as we see at this day, that the women, the relations, and the neighbours of the dead, should assemble round the corpse, and there should mingle their lamentations with those of the nearest of kin. Before the dwelling of the deceased his neighbours assembled according to his quality, joined by the other citizens and the clergy, and he was carried on the shoulders of his peers, with the funereal pomp of dirges and tapers, to the church which had been chosen by himself in his last moments.

“ These customs were discontinued as soon as the malignity of the plague reached its height, and others, before unheard of, were adopted in their place. The people died not only without a surrounding crowd of women, but too many departed this life in total solitude ; and few were those to whom the sighs and bitter tears of their

associates were conceded ! In place of these they were, for the most part, disturbed by laughter and jests, and gay carousings ! Many even of the women, laying aside feminine pity, followed this line of conduct to promote their own safety. And few were those whose remains were accompanied to the church by more than ten or twelve of their neighbours, nor were they carried by honourable and valued citizens, but by a tribe of grave-diggers, of the lowest of the people, who performed this office in haste, and with hurried steps carried the bier, not to that church indicated by the deceased, but to the one nearest at hand, generally preceded by not more than four or six priests, with few lights, and sometimes without any ; who, with the aid of the grave-diggers, placed the dead in the first unoccupied grave, without fatiguing themselves with long or solemn services.

“ The misery of the lowest, and perhaps of the middle class, was still greater ; for these, either in hopes of safety, or obliged by poverty, confined themselves to their houses, and sickened by thousands in a day ; where unattended, unaided by medicine, destitute of any resource, they almost all died. Many expired in the public streets by night and day—many more died in their own houses, where their death was first made known to their neighbours by the effluvia of their putrid bodies. The majority of each dis-

trict were buried in one common fashion by their neighbours, actuated as much by fear of the putridity of the corpses as by respect for the departed. The inhabitants of each division, assisted by porters, when they could be procured, dragged the bodies out of the houses and placed them before the doors, where, in the morning especially, they might be seen without number awaiting the arrival of the biers; and when these could not be procured in sufficient numbers, they were carried away on tables. Nor did each bier contain two or three only, but often the husband and wife, brothers, sisters, and children, were piled up together; and it happened an infinity of times, that two priests, carrying each a cross, walked before a bier for which their services had been demanded, and that three or four more corpses, without previous notice, were placed behind the first, and thus often when they thought to have had but one body to bury, they had seven or eight or more: all alike unhonoured by tears, or tapers, or decent company. And at last things came to that pass, that the human beings who died were as little regarded as if they had been so many goats.

“The consecrated ground could not suffice for the multitude of bodies which every day and every hour were carried to the churches from the desire of giving to each a separate grave, according to the ancient custom. As soon, there-

fore, as every spot was filled, they made pits round the sacred edifices, in which the dead were placed by hundreds, and heaped up together in the manner merchandize is stowed in ships, and here the earth was but sparingly strewed over the dead until the pits were filled up to the brim.

“ I am unwilling to relate any further particulars of the misery endured by our city, but will now notice some things regarding the state of the surrounding country. Without noticing the burghs (which on a smaller scale resembled the cities), through the scattered villages and fields the poor and miserable peasants, without aid or medicine, died in the roads, in the arable fields, in their houses, by night or day, not like men, but as the beasts of the field. Their manners, from the same circumstances, became corrupt like those of the citizens, neglecting alike their property and their customary labours.

“ Expecting death to arrive with the dawn of each coming day, they took no thought either for their cattle, or for the future fruits of the earth, or care of their past labours, but endeavoured, by every device, to consume whatever they at the moment possessed.

“ Whence it happened, that the oxen, the asses, the sheep, the goats, the swine, the poultry, and even the dog, distinguished for fidelity to man, driven out from their accustomed shelter, wandered at large through the abandoned fields,

where the accustomed crops were neither reaped nor sown, and many of these, as if endowed with reason, after having fled through the day, returned at night to the hamlets, unsought by the herdsmen.

“ Leaving the country, and returning to the city, what more can be said, except that such was the cruelty of the heavens, and perhaps, in part, of man himself, that between March and July, by the virulence of this pestiferous disease, and by the sick being badly attended, or deserted in their affliction, from the fears which intimidated the healthy, it is certainly thought that more than a hundred thousand human creatures died within the walls of Florence, which is perhaps more than the number of citizens they were previously supposed to contain.

“ Oh! how many spacious palaces, how many beautiful houses, how many noble mansions, lately filled with numerous families, were left empty not only of their masters and possessors, but even of the meanest servants. Oh! how many illustrious families, how many ample inheritances, how many opulent fortunes, were left without heirs!

“ How many men of merit, how many beautiful women, how many accomplished youths, whom not only their fellows, but Galen, Hippocrates, and Esculapius himself, would have pronounced in perfect health, dined with their parents, their companions, and their friends, in the morning,

and supped on the evening of the same day, with their ancestors in another world.⁸"

Though the plague was less fatal in its effects at Naples than at Florence or Avignon, its ravages were even there so great, that after a short residence of two months, the king of Hungary found it expedient to retire with a considerable body of his forces into Apulia, to avoid the contagion that desolated the capital.

The exigency of his affairs soon recalling him to Hungary, he left strong garrisons in all the fortified towns, appointed Stephen, Vaivode of Transylvania, commander of his forces, and Conrad and Gilfort Wolf, the leaders of a band of German mercenaries, governors of the city of Naples.⁹

On the first entrance of the Hungarians into the kingdom, the sentiments of the people had been divided between affection for the person of Joanna, and horror of the crime attributed to her. At the moment of her departure for Provence, the latter sentiment overpowered the other. The wisdom of her recent conduct led her subjects to believe that the misconduct of others had occa-

⁸ Three weeks after the arrival of the queen of Naples at Avignon, Laura de Sade, the celebrated mistress of Petrarch, died of this direful pestilence, which spared neither worth nor beauty.—See *Appendix*, No. XVI.

⁹ "Wolves in nature as in name," say the historians of Naples and Provence.

sioned the misfortunes of the country. In the mild dignity of her manners, the piety, equity, and benevolence of her disposition, they began to trace a strong resemblance to the character of her still lamented father, whilst compassion for the misfortunes of one so young and fair, so generous and gracious, roused every tender feeling, every cherished recollection, in her favour; and when the child of their early affection and hopes, the heiress of the revered Robert, fled from their soil, in all likelihood never more to return, the vehemence of their regrets knew no bounds.

The sorrow testified on this occasion, so exasperated the vindictive king, against whom they had neglected to defend her in proper season, that, transferring to the people a part of the hatred he bore the queen, he treated them, not as his natural subjects, whom he claimed to govern by inheritance, but as a conquered and guilty nation, whom he sought only to punish. Actuated by these feelings, when the terrified population of Naples came out to meet him he scorned their humble deprecation of his wrath, disdained to listen to the abject reverence of their lips, or to look on their prostrate forms as they grovelled in the dust before him; if there be one cause of resentment more keenly, more lastingly, felt than another, corroding the heart in those secret recesses where it seeks concealment, it is, to have descended in vain to the baseness of unwilling

submission ! every age, every condition, feels this, from the cowering child, to the oppressed slave, or fawning courtier.

Whilst such were the feelings of the mass of the people, who at first had been indifferent to either party, the impolitic and tyrannical measures pursued by Louis during his short stay at Naples, alienated most of those who had originally espoused his cause.

Seeming rather to scorn than to desire the affection of any class of his new subjects, disregarding all former claims and precedents, he bestowed every office of trust, profit, or honour, on his own nation, or on the leaders of the lawless bands of mercenaries he brought in his train ; and when he returned to Hungary, the excesses of his lieutenants, whom he left to govern in his absence, converted the previous discontent of the people into positive hatred of his rule and name.

About this conjuncture, when the cause of Joanna and her people had become one, when her persecutor was also their oppressor, the sentence of the sacred college reached Naples. To this sentence, the interest as well as the better feelings of the Neapolitans, led them to give a willing assent ; the returning tide of affection was swelled to its height ; the enthusiasm of their feelings lending to Joanna's other attractive qualities, the lustre of injured innocence, they burned to avenge her cause and their own ; and,

with the exception of a few leading men who had gone too far ever to hope for favour, or even pardon, all classes joined in an ardent desire for her restoration. The nobility, in general, treated with insolence by barbarian mercenaries, whom they despised as much as they hated, and seeing their country fast sinking into a province of Hungary, resolved to throw off the foreign yoke they had so blindly suffered to be imposed on them. Without the countenance and assistance of their exiled sovereign they knew the effort would be vain, and therefore sent secret messengers deputed from their own body, and the cities of the kingdom, to beseech her return; and promising, that if she would support them with a small body of troops and a supply of money in the first instance, they would redeem the pledge they had given at parting, and reinstate her in all her rights.

Joanna, knowing it would now be a work of time and difficulty to expel the invaders, would not rashly agree to the proposal, but communicated these overtures to the Pope and cardinals; who, however, agreed with her own council in advising her to accede, with as little delay as possible, to the wishes of her subjects. The letters brought to her by these ambassadors still further confirmed the Pope and sacred college in their opinion of her innocence and merit.

Anxious to save the effusion of human blood, and the risk of so desperate a contest, Clement

sought to restore Joanna to her throne by an amicable adjustment with the king of Hungary, and for that purpose, despatched cardinal Gui de Bologne to treat for peace.

The apostolic legate was a near relative of the queen of Hungary, and remarkable for mild manners and an insinuating address, well calculated to calm the ebullitions of the haughty spirit of the king. Louis, however, believing he had the kingdom of Naples actually in possession, would not listen to any proposal for an accommodation.

Whilst the cardinal de Bologne was engaged in this fruitless mission, Nicholas Acciajuoli was employed with more success, in raising troops and money for the intended expedition to Naples; but though the states of Provence and Piedmont strove with each other in their contributions, yet the funds of the royal treasury proving insufficient, with their best endeavours, for the magnitude of the enterprise, Joanna pledged all her jewels and personal ornaments, and offered the city and country of Avignon to the Pope, for a sum of eighty thousand florins of gold.¹⁰

A part of the country was already possessed by the Pope, in virtue of an invalid gift of Philip the Bold, of France, “who,” says the historian of Provence, “was sufficiently liberal in bestowing property not his own, but, all bold as he was, would not have dared to encroach on that of

¹⁰ Costanzo.

Charles of Anjou had he not been incapacitated from revenging himself by the consequences of the Sicilian Vespers." The successors of Charles had profited too much by the favour of the Holy See to make any complaint on the subject of this paltry robbery, and Joanna hoped, by yielding the part she retained of this small territory and her claims on the whole, to gain a kingdom in return. The demanded sum was immediately paid and applied to the equipment of ten galleys for Naples.¹¹

Joanna had now so entirely possessed herself of the friendship of Clement, that he sought to gratify her wishes in all things, knowing she coveted the title of king for Louis, almost as much as the kingdom of Naples itself, he gave him that appellation in bestowing the parting benediction.

Surrounded by the gallant chivalry of Provence eagerly invited by their Neapolitan subjects, their cause sanctified in the estimation of a superstitious age, by the peculiar favour and protection of the Holy See; Louis and Joanna, elate with hope, embarked from Marseilles on the 15th of July, and after a favourable passage, landed at Naples to the indescribable joy of the inhabitants.

¹¹ See the *Appendix* XVII. for this Contract, which decides the questions which have been discussed on the subject with ridiculous earnestness.

As the castles were in possession of the Hungarians, the galleys could not enter the port, but cast anchor near the rivulet Sebeto. The whole population of the capital, of all ages and conditions, came out to meet the king and queen, and as they passed along under the canopy of state, to a palace, on account of the summer heats, prepared for them on the side of the mountain, the air rung with the acclamations of the thronging multitude, who, in the transports of their joy, loudly and incessantly thanked God for their return.¹²

A great number of the nobility from every province of the kingdom, hastened to the court to offer their services and consult on the measures to be adopted for the expulsion of the Hungarians. The count of Minervino and his brothers, and others, who had originally favoured, if not invited their invasion, were now amongst the most zealous of these barons.

But whilst the former enemies of Joanna, returning to their allegiance, rallied round her throne, Francis de Baux, count of Montecagiuso, a leading member of a family always friendly to her interests, and nephew of the late king in the female line,¹³ held back from court. During the

¹² Costanzo.

¹³ Son of Beatrice, the youngest daughter of Charles the Second, who, after being professed, was taken out of her convent at Aix and married; first, to the marquis of Ferrara;

absence of Louis in Provence, he had married the princess Margaret of Taranto, whom the captivity of her other brothers had left unprotected at Naples, on that dreadful day when the Hungarian soldiers were not only permitted, but commanded, to pillage and destroy the residences of all the royal family. In this emergency, the young princess found a protector in her cousin de Baux, and love and gratitude prompted her to grant him her hand without awaiting the consent of her brothers.

The count now feared that the king and queen would resent his temerity in marrying the princess without their consent, and durst not appear in their presence until assured of the reception he should meet with. In the critical state

secondly, to Bertrand de Baux, count of Montecagins; and thirdly, to the Dauphin of the Viennois, whose son resigned this territory to the king of France about this period, from whence the heir apparent of that crown derives his title, the *Dolphin* being the armorial bearing. To forsake a religious for a secular life, was no uncommon occurrence at this period. Princesses, after having taken the veil, were absolved from their vows to promote the political interests of their family. The instance of the unfortunate d'Evoli, son of Philippa, is still more strange, after having, by the interest of king Robert, been made a bishop; when his father and his brothers died, he returned to serve that monarch in his palace as a lay cavalier. The line which separated the laity and clergy was but faintly marked and little observed when interest prompted its infringement.

of their affairs it was important to them to conciliate the nobility in general, and the family of de Baux was one of the most valiant and powerful in the kingdom. Not content, therefore, with the mere sufferance of a marriage, that could not without great difficulty and danger be annulled, they expressed unqualified satisfaction at the alliance, and in token of their favour, sent the count letters patent of the dukedom of Andria. The first instance, in the kingdom of Naples, of that dignity being bestowed on any but a prince of the royal family in the male line. On this de Baux repaired to court with his royal bride, and throwing himself at the feet of the king and queen, made humble and zealous vows of devotion to their cause, and in the sequel proved himself one of the most able of their supporters.

A succession of public spectacles, rejoicings and festivals, in which all ranks partook, celebrated the queen's return and much increased her popularity, by the contrast her gay court and gracious demeanour afforded to the gloomy severity and forbidding haughtiness of her hated opponent.

Louis of Taranto was not less calculated than Joanna to win the affection of the multitude in such scenes, his extraordinary personal beauty, and noble bearing, entitled him, not less than the celebrated Gaston, count de Foix, to the appellation of *Phabus*, for it is commonly said, that *he was as*

beautiful as the day, and he in no common degree possessed those *princely* manners—that engaging union of affability and dignity, which distinguished the Italian branch of the house of Anjou.

But this season of general re-union of all classes of the state was not passed in idle revelry alone. As far as the straitened state of her finances would permit, Joanna rewarded, in costly presents and lands, all who had shown fidelity and affection to her cause. Her gifts bore now a double grace, as though magnificent in all her tastes and habits, loving the splendor to which she had been accustomed from the moment of her birth, she yet at this juncture willingly resigned the common ornaments of her rank, that she might have the means of bestowing her liberalities on others. In reward of his services in Provence, Nicholas Acciajuoli was appointed grand Seneschal of the kingdom of Naples, and such of the great offices of the state as had become vacant in the late troubles were given to other able men.

Honours and privileges were bestowed on the young chivalry, the contemporaries of Louis and Joanna, who were more to be influenced by such rewards than by those which excite the capidity of maturer years.¹³ The affection of this class, above all others, they sought to gain, whose devotion and valour they well knew would prove a more efficient support to their cause than the

¹³ Costanzo.

mercenary services of stipendiary partizans, who fought on one side to-day, and on the other to-morrow, according to the amount of the proffered bribes.

The sentence of the pontifical court had proclaimed the cause of Joanna to Europe at large, as one which it was the peculiar duty of chivalry to defend; and many noble knights from distant countries now followed her banner to the field. Amongst others, Otho of Brunswick, a prince as illustrious by his virtues as by his descent, whose valour, at a less auspicious period, was vainly exerted to avert or avenge her tragical death.

A P P E N D I X.



No. I—page 2.

Productions of Provence, and Antiquity of the City of Arles.

IL ne faut pas passer sous silence qu'il y a une si grande quantité de lin, de chanvre, et de laine, et de tout cela il s'y fait de si grands travaux et ouvrages, soit pour les draps, soit pour les linges, soit pour les voiles et les cordes des navires, que non seulement elle en a suffissamment pour soy, mais elle en fournit tous les jours abondamment à l'Italie et l'Espagne. Des draps portés de Provence vray-semblablement se doit entendre ce que dit Martial lib. 3, epigram. 8.

Te Cadmæa Tyros, me pinguis Gællæ vestit.

Mais encore plus particulièrement, le Pape Pelage I, environ l'an 560, écrivant à Sapaud Evêque d'Arles, le prie que des pensions en argent que l'Eglise de Rome tiroit en ce temps-la de Provence il en achetât des linges et des vêtemens de toute sorte, et les envoyât à Rome pour en vêtir les pauvres, disant “ Ut quod de pensionibus possessionum Ecclesie nostræ collectum est, dignetur dirigere, quia Italia prædia ita desolata sunt ut ad recuperationem eorum nemo sufficiat, et si possibile est, ut nobis ipsis solidis saga tomentitia, quæ pauperibus erogari possunt et tunicas albas aut cucullos, aut si quæ aliæ species in Provincia fiunt, quæ pauperibus, ut diximus erogari debeant, nobis exinde facile comparari et opportunitate navis inventa dirigite.”

C'est chose digne de remarque qu'il n'y a aucune sorte de grains, de fruits, et d'arbres, qui naissent aux autres provinces de la Gaule qu'ils ne se trouvent en celle-ci; et au contraire, il

y en a quelques uns qui y naissent qui ne peuvent croître aux autres, quelque soins et artifices qu'on y apporte. Il y a comme aux autres provinces voisines, des froments et des grains de toute sorte excepté de ce blé sarrazin triangulaire, vulgairement appelé, *blé noir*, dont il y a grande abondance en Dauphiné, au Lyonnais, en Bourgogne, en Anjou et autres provinces jusqu' à l'océan Britanique. Ce n'est pas que estant semé il n' y viennent fort bien et très abondamment ; car j'ay observé qu'un grain de ce blé semé dans un jardin en rendit jusque à six cens ; il y a toute sorte de legumes, de millet, de ris, des herbes potagères, et des fleurs en grande abondance.

Des vins il y en a de blancs, de rouge, de paillets, de claires, de muscats, de malvoisies, et tous extrêmement bons fort et genereux, dont les vins sont portés en divers endroits de France et d'Italie ; j'ay veu à Rome, qu'on conservoit quelques pieces de vin Provençal comme le meilleur pour la table du S. Père.

Pour les fruits, outre les raisins de toutes sortes, il y'a de champignons, de truffes, de fraises, de meures, de framboises, d'épine vinette, de grozeilles, de poires, de pommes, de cerises, de chatagnes, de noix, des amandes, de noisettes, de cornes, de cormes, de nèfles, de pêches, des abricots, de prunes ; et de celles y en a si grande quantité presque par toute cette province, que estant pelées et sechées on en porte par toute la France et l'Italie sous le nom de Brignolles, du nom de la ville d'où viennent les plus belles et les meilleures. Mais presque singulièrement en elle et non pas aux autres provinces on y voit des figues fraîches et de seches dans des paniers, des dates, des pignons, des jujubes, des caroubes, des arbouses, des capres, des oranges, des lemons, des ponsites, des citrons, des grenades, du saffran, des vers à soie, de myrthe, de térébynth, des canes de sucre aux territoire d'Ilieses au temps de Belleforest, qui en fait mention ; et celles-la estant mortes d'autres qui ont esté plantés de nos jours ; comme aussi de la manne, et de l'algare, vers les terroirs d'Alloz comme j'y en ay veu, et vers celui de Briançon d'où sortent les rivières de Verdon et de Durance, au rapport de Papyre, Maçon, et du Sieur de Boissieu au livre

des Sept Merveilles de Dauphiné ; et vers le terroir d'Arles, au témoignage du Sieur Saz'y en son histoire de cette ville, et de celui d'un ancien Poëte de cette province nommé Guillaume Boyer, qui fit autrefois quelques vers à la recommandation de ces derniers simples dont je viens de parler, qu'il dedia à Robert, Roy de Jerusalem et de Sicile et Comte de Provence. Finalement des olives, desquelles il s'y fait une si grande quantité d'huyle, que cette province en fournit abondamment par toute la France, l'Angleterre et l'Allemagne : et du miel le plus delicat et le plus agréable qui soit en aucune autre partie du monde.

Des simples propres à la pharmacie, il s'en trouve de tous ceux qui naissent aux autres provinces, au rapport de ceux qui s'occupent à les connoître.

Bouche Hist. Provence, livre 1. chap. 6. 49.

Arles.

Nous apprenons dans le livre de la Notice de l'un et de l'autre Empire, qu'il se faisait anciennement du temps des empereurs en cette ville trois choses fort considerables, et les uns à elles singulières. Premièrement on y battoit la monnoye au coing de cette même ville et aux autres parts au coing du Prince qui regnoit alors, comme Procope a remarqué au livre 3 de la Guerre des Goths. *Aureum nummum* (dit il en parlent d'Arles) *natio Galliarum metallo hic cudunt, non Romani imperatoris ut ceteri solent imagine, sed sua impressa, quæ Genius hominis alati, percussus.* En deuxième lieu, l'on y travailloit à la bordure d'or et d'argent des habits, ou à la graveure et dorure des armes des empereurs, selon les diverses explications de ces paroles. “ *Comes largitionum occidentis imperabat Brambaricariorum, sive Argentariorum Arelatensium,* ” ce qui ne se faisait qu'en deux autres villes des Gaules Rheims et Trêves. A la place de *Brambaricariorum* il faut lire *barbaricariorum*, qui selon quelques-uns signifient bordeur de soye et de filets d'or et d'argent aux vêtements, et selon les

autres graveures d'armes où l'on gravait la figure d'hommes, de bestes, et d'autres fantaisies. Nom tiré de celui de Barbare, à qui l'on attribué l'invention de ces brodures et graveures.—En troisième lieu, l'on y avoit établie la Garderobe de l'Empereur, soit pour ses habits, soit pour les utensiles necessaires à son ménage, quand il venoit en cette contrée par ces paroles — *Sub ordinationem viri illustris comitis sacrarum largitionum, Procurator Gynæcci Arclatensis Provinciae Viennensis*. Ce qui n'estoit qu'en cinq autres villes des Gaules, Lyons, Rheims, Tournay, Treves et Authun; et sous ce mot de *Gynæceum* quelques-uns y comprennent encore tant les vêtements que tous les attirails de guerre, soit par mer soit par terre, tant pour l'Empereur que pour les soldats, afin que l'Empereur et l'armée en arrivant à une contrée l'on trouvât tout prest ce qui leur étoit necessaire. Toutes desquelles choses devoient estre bien rangées et ordonnées, comme tous les bagues et les bijoux dans les cabinets des femmes, qui est la propre signification du mot *Gynæceum*.

“ En outre la gloire et la grandeur de cette ville nous sont fort bien représentés par tant de beaux ornements de l'antiquité, dont les uns sont encore en état, comme quelques aquedues, quelques colonnes avec leurs chapitreaux, l'Amphitheatre, ayant de rondeur mille deux cens vingt-quatre pieds en soixante arcs vulgairement dit les *Arcues* où pouvoient demeurer trente milles personnes, selon la supputation du Sieur de Romieu; une tres belle statue de Diane, qui y fut dernièrement trouvée; et les autres détruits par les ravages de la rivière du Rhône, comme ce beau pont qui joignoit les deux villes, et par l'incivilité des Goths, comme cette belle place entourée de colonnes et de statues (dont quelques uns ont esté portées à Paris au temps de Charles IX Roi de France) si bien décrite et représentée par Sidonius Apollinaris au livre I, Epitre 2; —a laquelle pour le grand trafic et commerce qui s'y faisoit du temps de Strabon et long temps après accouroient, comme à la plus grande et plus celebre foire de toute l'Europe, voire de tout le monde, toute sorte de marchandises par mer par rivières et par terre. Oyons sur cela les Empereurs Honorius

et Theodosius en leur Epître à Agricola, Prefet du Pretoire des Gaules—Tanta est loci opportunitas (parlant de la ville d'Arles), tanta est copia commerciorum, tanta illie frequentia commeantium, ut quidquid unquam nascitur illie commodius distrahatur. Neque enim ulla provincia fructus sui facultate lætatur, ut non nisi hæc propria *Arelatensis* soli credatur esse fecunditas. Quidquid enim dives oriens, quidquid odoratus Arabs, quidquid delicatus Assyrius, quod Affrica fertilis, quod speciosa Hispania, quod fecunda Gallia potest habere præclarum, ita illi exhibetur assatum, quasi ibi nascentur omnia quæ ubique constat esse magnifica, &c. Quidquid habet terra præcipuum ad hanc vel navi vel vehiculo terra, mari, flumine, defertur, quidquid singulis nascitur.—C'est pourquoi pour la douceur de son climat, pour la commodité de son assiette, pour la beauté de son terroir, et pour la fertilité de ses champs, elle a été de tout temps chérie et recherchée par les plus hautes puissances de la terre.—Constantin le Grand y avait établi son premier siege en Gaule, comme fut aussi Constantin le tyran—et après lui les Empereurs Majorianus et Avitus, qui y prirent les ornemens Imperiaux. Theodoric I, Roy des Visigoths, fit tous ses efforts pour l'emporter, et après lui ses trois fils Thorismond, Theodoric II, et Euric, qui enfin s'en rendit le maître après beaucoup de peine comme nous verrons en l'histoire. Theodoric Roy des Ostrogoths y demeura long temps, la fit reparer la ruine de ses tours murailles, et beaucoup plus encore Childebert Roy de Paris, seigneur de cette ville.

“ Elle fut encore le siege de nos anciens Roys d'Arles et de Bourgogne, depuis Bozon l'an 879, suivis des Comtes d'Arles et de Provence, qui se plaisoient grandement en la beauté de son terroir.”

Bouche Chorographie de Provence, livre 6—309.

No. II.—(p. 7.)

Death of the Emperor Frederic II.

“Obiit autem circa eadem tempora principum mundi maximus, Fredericus, stupor quoque mundi et immutator mirabilis, absolutus à sententia qua innodabatur, assumpto, ut dicitur, habitu Cisterciensium, et mirificè compunctus et humiliatus. Obiit autem die sanctæ Lucie, ut non videretur *ea die terramotus* sine significatione et inaniter evenisse condidit autem nobile testamentum quo ecclesiæ per ipsum damnificatæ jura restaurarentur. Celata autem fuit mors ejus per aliquot dies, ne hostes ejus citò exultarent.”

“Qui ut dicitur, videns mortem suam indubitanter imminere, contritus pro peccatis suis, confessionem fecit plenissimam eum lachrymarum ubertate, se Deo commendans et ordini Cisterciensi, unde habitum Cisterciensium ante mortem, ut nobis suorum fidelium patefecit certa relatio, humiliter ac devotè suscepit.

“Et quia mors in foribus erat, quidam episcopus, ex parte Dei, qui neminem in se credentem vult perire, ipsum satisfactionem promittentem absolvit.

“Ab alto igitur suspirans pectore, et asserens se malle nunquam fuisse natum, vel habenas imperii suscepisse, pro ejus juribus recuperandis et sustinendis tot et tantis fuerat inebriatus amaritudinibus, tale dicitur condidisse testamentum. *Ego Fredericus in primis relinquo pro anima mea, centies mille unciarum auri pro Terra Sancta sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ recuperanda, expendenda et exponendarum ad voluntatem filii mei Conradi. Item volo quòd omnia male ablata restituantur. Item omnes captivos de Imperio et regno relinquo liberos, exceptis proditoribus tantùm. Item relinquo totam terram ecclesiæ liberam, et volo quòd jura ecclesiæ restituantur. Item meum hæredem relinquo Conradum in Imperio Romano et regno Siciliæ. Item relinquo filio meo Henrico regnum Hierosolymitanum et decem millia unciarum, secundum voluntatem Con-*

radi filii mei. Item nepoti meo filio scilicet filii mei Henrici, relinquo ducatum Austriæ et decem millia unciarum auri. Item Manfredum filium meum relinquo Balicum Conradì in imperium à Papia et citra et regno Sicilia usque ad lxx annos, excepto quando Conradus erit præsens. Item sepulturam meam eligo apud Pannoniam ubi jacuit Rex Williclmus, &c.

“ Amicis autem suis, et aliis filiis suis, et ministris, multa distribuit, in auro præcipuè et argento. Et credible fuit, quia eodem anno venerunt ad eum duodecim cameli onusti auro et argento de partibus orientalibus. Erat enim omnibus *Soldanis* Orientis particeps in mercimoniis et amicissimus, ita ut usque ad Indos sui currebant ad commodum suum, tam per mare quam per terras, institores.”

Matthew Paris, 842.

No. III.—(p. 22.)

Death of Conradine.

“ Frederic d’Autriche fut le premier decollé, et l’on assure que sa tête séparée de son corps prononça trois fois le nom de la Vierge Marie; et que Conradine la prit, la baisa, et, farrosant de ses larmes, déplora son malheur, dont il confessa d’avoir esté la seule cause, mais avec tant de sensibles regrets qu’il faisoit fendre le cœur, et fondre les yeux en larmes de tous les spectateurs de cette funeste et horrible tragedie.—Après quoi Conradine, ennuyé de vivre après la mort de son parent, se mit à genoux, et tendant les mains et les yeux au ciel, demandant pardon à Dieu, receut de la main de l’exécuteur le coup de hache, qui luy fit sauter la tête de ses épaules.—La mort de ces deux princes fut sur le champ suivie de celle de quelque sept ou huit grands Seigneurs, compagnons de leur mauvaise fortune, dont les uns furent decollez et les autres pendus.—Pour Henri de Castile, lequel il fut condamné à une

prison perpétuelle, ainsi que J'ay dit un peu auparavant, toutes fois quelques historiens assurent que Charles le fit mourir plusieurs fois de honte et de douleur, l'ayant fait enfermer dans une cage de fer, le menant pour servir d'un spectacle d'ignominie par toutes les villes d'Apouille, et autres provinces du royaume. Mais quoique toutes ces inhumaines actions ne fussent pas déplaissantes à Charles, elles causerent pourtant de l'horreur en l'esprit de beaucoup de Seigneurs de sa suite. Car on dit que Robert Comte de Flandres tua tout aussi-tôt de sa propre main le secretaire qui avoit prononcé la sentence de mort : et qu'un gentilhomme tua l'exécuteur de justice, de peur que le premier ne se vantât d'avoir proferé de sa bouche l'arrêt de la condamnation ; et l'autre d'avoir trempé ses mains dans le sang royal, et d'avoir fait mourir des princes d'une si haute naissance. Ainsi finirent ces deux très illustres maisons de Suabe et d'Autriche en Allemagne, par la mort de ces deux jeunes princes âgez environ de seize ou dix huit ans."

Bouche Hist. de Provence.

No. IV.—(p. 33.)

Templars of Provence.

“ Pendant la vie de ce prince il fut institué par des personnes devotes, quelques uns natifs de Provence, deux grands et celebres ordres de Chevalerie : l'un des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusalem, institué pour le gouvernement des Pelerins malades dans l'Hôpital de Jerusalem : et l'autre des Templiers Gardiens du temple de Salomon dans la même ville : le premier l'an 1099 par un Frère Gerard, que quelques uns surnomment *Tunc*, Provençal, natif de la ville du Martigues, qui a esté le premier Grand Maitre de cet ordre, au rapport de l'historien de Malte, homme de grand pieté et vertu, et surtout fort charitable envers les pauvres pelerins malades, qui

venoient visiter les Saints Lieux, s'obligeant par vœu avec ses confrères (qu'il fit Religieux sous l'habit regulier en forme de casaque d'une croix blanche à huit pointes) de les loger et traiter dans l'Hôpital de Jerusalem, qu'il gouverna durant l'espace de dix-huit ou dix-neuf ans, et où il mourut l'an 1118. Son corps ayant depuis esté porté, l'an 1534, de l'isle de Rhodes à la ville de Manosque en Provence, où il est honoré et reveré en qualité de saint, y faisant des miracles.

“ Le deuxième l'an 1118 par neuf gentils-hommes Français qui estoient allés visiter le S. Sepulchre, entre lesquels il y en avoit deux de Provence, sçavoir Hugo de Pagnis (autres disent de Bagarris, nom ancien d'un village à pres ent nommé le Bourguet, près de Castellane) et Geoffrey Adhemar, dont le nom est assez connu en Dauphiné, à Orange, et en Provence. Aussi bien ces deux ordres ont eu en leur commencement plus de bien en Provence, en Languedoc, et à Orange à proportion du reste, qu'en nulle autre province de la Chrétienté : et les Seigneurs de ces contrées là les honorerent si fort que plusieurs d'entr'eux, outre les biens qu'ils leur faisoient, voulurent en prendre l'habit et s'associer en leur compagnie, comme fit notre Raimond Berenger, Comte de Barcelonne et de Provence, prenant l'habit des Templiers ainsi que nous avons vu un peu auparavant ; et grand nombre des Comtes de Tolouse qui prirent l'habit des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean ; et presque tous les mêmes Comtes voulurent choisir leur sepulture dans les Eglises de leur ordre : comme faisoient aussi nos Comtes de Provence, et ceux de Fourcalquier. Les Templiers portoient une croix rouge ; et après avoir subsisté environ deux cens ans ils furent detruits environ l'an 1310, comme nous verrons ci dessous.”

Boache, Hist. Provence, l. 9--109.

“ La même année 1317 Les Religieux Templiers.....par de secrettes intelligences entre le Pape Clement V, Philippe le Bel roi de France, et notre Roi Charles, ausquels on peut

encore ajoûter les Rois d'Angleterre, de Castile, d'Arragon, de Portugal, d'Hongrie, d'Escosse et plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne, et d'Italie, furent entièrement détruits et abolis de la Chrétienté, après avoir subsisté et avoir acquis par aumône de grandes richesses, cent quatre vingt et douze ans.

“ Ils furent saisis tous à un même jour en Provence le 24 Janvier, auquel jour commença le branle et le son d'autres Vêpres Siciliennes.

“ Le Roy Charles estant à Marseilles dépêcha des lettres closes et scellées de son petit seel, à tous officiers, juges, vigniers et lieutenants de Provence, du 13 Janvier, leur commandant de tenir secrette une affaire, pour laquelle il envoyoit d'autres lettres encore plus scerettes, qu'il leur défendoit d'ouvrir jusques avant la clarté du jour du 24 Janvier ; voire encore dans l'obscurité du jour précédent. C'est ainsi que les premières lettres disoient, adressées à ses officiers d'Aix, et la même chose aux officiers des autres villes.

“ Carolus II Dei gratia Jerusalem et Siciliae Rex, &c. Vicario et Judici Aquensi, eorumve locumtenentibus, et in alicujus absentia alteri qui praesens fuerit, fidelibus nostris gratiam et bonam voluntatem. Ecce quandam literam nostram parvo sigillo nostro sigillatam mittimus, istis praesentibus interclusam, quoddam secretissimum negotium continentem : volentes ac vobis sub poena sacramentorum, quibus nobis adstricti estis, et personarum ac rerumstrarum omnium districtè percipiendo mandamus, ut recepta ad manus vestras eadem litera, nec ulla de istis vel illa cuique viventi mentione facta, secretè, immò secretissimè apud vos teneatis neque aperiatis illam : immò ita sigillatam ut eam reperietis usque scilicet ad diem 24 Praesentis Januarii teneatis. Eoque die veniente, immò priusquam dies ipsa clucescat noctuque, aperiatis eam, et quae in ipsa contenta videritis, ipso eodem die exequi omnino curetis ; summè cauturi, ne in executione praedicta quidquam negligenter, aut cujusque defectus sit, sicut rerumstrarum dispendium et personarum periculum formidatis. De receptione verò praesentium ac potestate alterius licere nullatenus ante praedictam diem sicut praedicatur, aperienda, per literas vestras,

quas vestrum alter propria manu scribat, nobis per latorem præsentium rescribatis. Datum Massilia sub prædicto parvo sigillo nostro die xiii Januarii vi Indiet.

“ Dans les autres lettres closes et cachetées de son seel le plus secret, il leur commandoit, suivant l'express mandement qu'il avoit eu de notre Saint Père le Pape, de faire saisir tous les Templiers, qui estoient en tous ses états. Ils eussent à prendre, saisir, et arrêter, tous les Templiers qui seroient dans l'étenduë de leurs juridictions : comme aussi de prendre tous leurs biens, meubles et immeubles, et de tout en faire bon et valable inventaire, et les déposer à des personnes de probité et de suffisance, pour les regir, et gouverner, et en rendre compte quand ils en seront requis.

“ Carolus II Dei gratia Jerusalem, &c.—Vicario et Judici Aquensi, eorumve loca tenentibus, et in alieujus absentia, &c. Sicut de speciali et expresse mandato Domini nostri Summi Pontificis secretè nuper per ejus literas nobis facto, proceditur sic nos vobis sub pena utique omnium rerum, hominum et personarumstrarum destrietè præcipimus, ut sic prudenter, sic cautè, sic secretè ordinetis et faciatis, quòd die xxiv præsentis mensis Januarii, quo quidem die similem hujusmodi negotii executionem ubicunque per præsentem comitatum nostrorum Provinciae et Forcalquerii fieri ordinatum et jussum est omnes et singulos Templarios Jurisdictionis vestre et alios, qui ubicunque in ipsa jurisdictione vestra reperientur, eorum bona mobilia et immobilia meliori et cautiori modo quo fieri possit, capiat : detinentes tutis locis sub tam diligentie fida custodia quod sinistrum de ipsis aliquod non contingat ; bona vero ipsorum mobilia et immobilia aliquibus fide dignis personis, de quibus non sit verissimile quod in his vel similibus velint fraudem aliquam adhibere, commendetis et deponatis auctoritate præsentium fideliter conservanda usquedum per sedem Apostolicam vel per nos aliud inde fuerit ordinatum. Ita scilicet quod de omnibus et singulis bonis ipsis fieri faciatis in præsentia fratrum domorum dicti ordinis, ac notarii publici, aliarum plurium bonarum personarum et maxime dictis domibus vicinarum inventaria publica continentia omnia

eadem bona particulariter et distinctè, quorum aliquibus penes vos retentis, cum dimissis eisdem depositariis alia nobis quanto citius destinatis, ut cum tempus fuerit plenam de ipsis iidem depositarii possint, ac teneantur, et debeant reddere rationem : quibus ex nunc intra cætera committatis et injungatis expressè, ut terras et vineas Templariorum ipsorum, eorum quidem expensis faciant more solito excoli prout fuerit opportunum. Vos autem facta in hunc modum executione præsentium mittatis nobis prædicta inventaria et unâ cum eis literas vestras, nomina et cognomina Templariorum, ac depositariorum ipsorum, totamque ipsam executionem particulariter continentes. Securi quod si quem, quod absit, committi per vos in præmissis defectum contingeret, tam atrociter contra vos procedi faceremus, quod nec personæ rebus, nec res personis conferre possent aliquod juvamentum. Illud etiam denique attenturi quod si casu aliquo accideret non posse ad manus vestras, intra præscriptum diem, singulos jam dictos Templarios, ac singula eorum bona pervenire, summè studeatis providere, ac ordinare, et facere, quod continuè in antea illos et illa capiat, et faciatis de his detinendis et conservandis prout superius enarrantur. Datum Massiliæ sub parvo sigillo nostro die xiii, Januarii vi Indiet.

Ensuite desquelles lettres, Pierre Gantelme, Chevalier et Vignier de la ville d'Aix, accompagné de Ponce Garnier, Juge de la même ville, et d'autres personnes de condition, se porta *circa horam matutinarum*, dit le procès verbal de sa commission, vers l'heure de matines, qui pouvoit estre beaucoup devant jour, sur les quatres ou cinq heures du matin, au mois Janvier, en l'Eglise Sainte Catherine, où les Templiers étoient logez, et en cette grande maison qui est au devant la porte de la même église, (où l'on voit encore quelques marques de leur demeure, comme des têtes d'empereurs en relief, une montée et escalier à la façon des cloîtres, et une chambre toute entièrement dépeinte, ayant à un côté la figure de l'Adoration des Rois à la naissance de Jésus, et à l'autre l'image d'un Crucifix, ayant à la droite la figure de la Sainte Vierge, et à gauche celle de Saint Jean, — marques contraires à ce de quoy on les

accusoit) ; et faisant ouvrir les portes il trouva dedans trois religieux templiers (un quatrième ayant pris la fuite, comme il courte dans la tissure du même procès verbal) qui étoient encore couchez : et les ayant fait lever, il fit faire en leur présence un inventaire de tous les ornemens de l'église, de tous les meubles qui se trouverent en la cuisine et en toutes les chambres de la maison. Après les avoir arrête prisonniers, il se porta le même jour au lieu de Bailés et à la Grange de la Galiniere, qui dépendoient de la maison d'Aix, pour se saisir de tous les meubles, &c.

“ Procédant à la commission des immeubles, l'on fit saisir, au nom du roi, les maisons, moulins, terres, vignes, prez, censes, et services de bleds, et de deniers que ces templiers avoient non seulement au terroir de la ville d'Aix ; mais encore ceux qu'ils avoient aux lieux de St. Paul, de Duranee, de Vauvenarque, de Venelles, de St. Canadet, du Puech, de Marignane, et de St. Estienne.”

[Here follows a list of thirty-four towns in Provence, where the Templars had establishments, besides others which are not mentioned in the registers.]

Nomina Fratrum Templi captorum.

Hæc sunt nomina Fratrum Templi captorum, detentorumque in Fortalitio regio Castri de Meyranicis, primò videlicet,

Fr. Raimundus Benedicti, Camerarius Domus Templi Sancti Mauriti, Præceptorque domus Templi de Braccio.

It. Fr. Hugo de Sancto Joanne Capellanus de Bajulia Dignen.

Fr. Bertrandus Bartholomæi Bajuliæ Grassæ.

Fr. Guillelmus de Signa Bajuliæ Sancti Mauricii.

Fr. Hugolinus de Capite, Præceptor Venicent.

Fr. Guillelmus de Bajolis.

Fr. Raim. de Angul's Præceptor Domorum de Petra Saza et de Arcis.

Fr. Jacobus Duranti de Bajulia Ruæ.

Fr. Hugo de Roquoilho Mil. 3 de Bajulia Sancti Mauriti.

Fr. Pontius Aycardi Camerarius Domús Templi de Rua Bajuliæ Grassæ.

Fr. Petrus de Bregogni dictæ Bajuliæ.

Fr. Hugo de Brassio dictæ Bajuliæ.

Fr. Gaufrid. Mutonis Bassiliæ Grassæ.

Fr. Guillel. Carani dictæ, &c.

Fr. Guillel. Pelegrini qui aliter vocantur Fr. Guillelm. Gaillardus B. G.

Fr. Petrus Joan. de Monte Meyano B. Arcarum.

Fr. Fulco de Signa Miles Domus de Bracchio.

Fr. Raim. Perdigoni de B. Aquenzi.

Fr. Joan. Grangi de B. G.

Fr. Guillelm. Burrani dictæ Bajuliæ.

Fr. Petrus Fillol.

Fr. Rostagnus Castelli dictæ Baj.

Fr. Bermundus Homodei Baj. Grass.

Fr. Vincencius Golfandi.

Fr. Petrus Darandi Baj. Gr.

Item. Custoditur *Aquis* de mandato Regio, Fr. Albertus Blaccacii Miles Præceptor Domus Sancti Mauricii et de *Aquis*.

Nomina verò Fratrum Templariorum custoditorum Fortalitio regio Castri de Pertusio mandato Regis, sunt hæc.

Primò, Fr. Raim. Catabri, miles de Villa Dei.

Fr. Raim, de Carminio, miles de Ardate.

Fr. Guillel. Augeri Præceptor de la Chau.

Fr. Petrus Blatandi Præcep. Navis de Massiliæ.

Fr. Joan. Røy locumtenens Præceptor Arelat.

Fr. Petrus Puhlati Camerarius Domús Arelat.

Fr. Petrus Pelliparii Capellanus Domús Arcærum.

Fr. Joan. Anhana Arelatis.

Fr. Petrus Boniri de Fossis.

Fr. Raim. Blancundus Cam. de Limasia.

Fr. Bernard. de Thore de Limasia.

Fr. Raim. Salvator de Limasia.

Fr. Hugo Attizalli de Lim.

Fr. Petrus Monini de Avenione.

Fr. Guillel. Michaël de Avenione.
 Fr. Arnandus de Bajulia Arcarum.
 Fr. Guillel. Berengarii de Baj. Nissia.
 Fr. Hugo Albergarii de Nissia.
 Fr. Guillel. Guignon. Capellanus de Nissia.
 Fr. Jacobis Vilhoni de Nissia.
 Ego B. de Lanzola Notar. publicus hæc scripsi et signo
 meo quo utor signavi.

Catalogue des Grands Maîtres des Templiers.

- 1118, Hugo de Paganis.
- 1136, Robertus Burgundis.
- 1149, Eberardus aut Everardus.
- 1153, Bernardus de Tremalaz seu de Trenellage.
- 1158, Bertrandus de Blanchefort.
- 1165, Andreas.
- 1168, Philippus de Neapoli.
- 1171, Otho sive Odo de Sancto Arnando
- 1179, Arnaldus de Torrege sive Troge.
- 1186, Gerardus de Ridelfort.
- 1189, Henricus.
- 1190, Gualterius.
- 1195, Robertus de Sabloil.
- 1196, Gilbertus Horal sive Erailus.
- 1198, Pontius Rigaldus.
- 1200, Pilippus de Plessiez.
- 1200, Deodatus de Breisiaco.
- 1210, Petrus Montacutus.
- 1216, Guillelmus Montredonius.
- 1218, Guillelmus de Carnoto.
- 1244, Hermanus Petracoricensis.
- 1250, Guillelmus Sonnat.
- 1264, Petrus de Belgion.
- 1272, Robertus.
- 1285, Guifredus ? Salvaing.
- 1288, Petrus de Belgion sive Bellivisus.
- 1291, Guillelmus de Belligoco.
- 1309, Jacobus Molay.

Lesquels noms ont esté tirez par la curiosité du très savant Joseph Maria Suarez Eveque de Vasson, des Archives de la Chartreuse de Bompas, qui plus vray-semblablement devoit estre auparavant de cet ordre.”—*Bouche, Hist. Provence.*

No. V.—(p. 34.)

Letter of John XXII. to Maria, Queen of Sicily and Hungary, &c. on the Canonization of her son Louis, Bishop of Toulouse.

“ Carissimæ in Christo filiæ Mariæ Reginae Siciliæ illustri. Epulari filia in sinceritatis et veritatis azimis et in Domino, gaudere te convenit, quia filius tuus, olim ab mundo moriens Deo feliciter vivere, factusque compatriota caelestium ac syderearum incola mansionum, in domini tabernaculo meruit habitare. Exultare, ac pium prorumpere debes in jubilum, de utero tuo processisse virum Angelicum, meditans consortem esse Angelorum; profusis decet te plaudere gaudiis quod talem in terris genueris filium cujus in cælis patrocínio, cujusque favore apud homines potiris, et intercessionibus apud Deum. Hic est ille natus tuus, ille venerandæ memoriæ Ludovicus Episcopus Tolosanus, quem Deus ipse gloriosus in Sanctis suis et in majestate mirabilis sua immensa bonitate, virtutum operatione mirificans et gratia sanitatum, sic immensis illustravit miraculis, quod in diversitate graduum sui status in gratia et gloria diademate coronatus. Hic est denique quem et nos propter sua merita glorioso nostro ministerio, per omnem Christiani cultus ambitum vehiculo debitæ venerationis incedere, ac profusis per orbem gaudiis et effusis undique laudibus coli cupientes in terris nuper die Jovis post *Resurrectionis* Dominicæ, septimo videlicet Idus Aprilis, de Fratrum nostrorum et prælatorum omnium, tunc apud sedem Apostolicum existentium unanimi consilio et consensu concordî sanctorum catalogo duximus adscribendum; nec non causa

Paschale tempus ad id faciendum elegimus, ut dies ipsa nova, festivitate jucunda et temporis gaudiosa celebritate Paschali, fieret ampliori jucunditate festiva. Dignè itaque filia, cor tuum delectari debet in Domino, et in salutari tuo tuus animus dilatari, et dignè gratias agere teneris Altissimo, qui tibi fecunditatem sobolis tam sanctissimæ tribuit, et qui in tanta sublimitate illius in benedictionibus immensæ dulcedinis te prævenit. Propera igitur quæsumus et in odore unguentorum *Beatissimi Filii* curre, tuas corrigendo vias et bonis operibus vacando festina, ut illum sequi merearis ad celeste regnum, quem si in mundo viveret affectu regente materno in exilium sequereris. Datum Avenione Quinto Idus Aprilis."

Bouche, Hist. Provence.

No. VI.—(p. 55.)

Provençal Poetry.—Satire of Adhemar.

Yeu hai ja vista manta rei
 D'ount anc noun fis semblan que vis,
 Ez hai amb' tal jougat è ris,
 D' ount anc gaire noun mi chautiez ;
 Ez hai servit a mant hom prouz,
 Ount anc noun cobrez gazardous,
 Ez a mant nesci al fol parlar
 Hai vist trop ben far soun afar.

Ez hai jà vist per avol drutz
 La donna marit dezamar ;
 Ez a mants nescis acanpar
 Merces als plus savis deugutz
 E per domus hai ja vist yeú,
 Mant fous estrassar lou sicú
 Ez hai vist hom aimat senz dar
 E mauvogut a nolt dornar.

Yeu hai vist donnas demandar
 Ambè plazers amb' onramens ;
 Pièy venie un desco unouyssens
 Embrieygat de nesci parlar.
 Que n' avie la milhouna part,
 E roudiadas de mal art
 Hai vist las que lous plus savays,
 Acuielhoun mielh que lous malvays.

Yeu hai vist las donnas peccar
 D' enseignatz é de ben aprèz,
 Els nescis avinens ne mèz
 Quel 's plus savis al gen prejar.
 Ez hai vist nocer chaùzimens ;
 E trop valer lous trichamens,
 Perquè val mai à moun esciens
 En amour baùjour que bon sens.

Donnas hai vist hom encolpar
 De ço que noun trazié nul mal ;
 E dons de mercè faire a tal
 Ount si poudien a dresch clamar,
 Ez hai tal foulige espiat
 E tant vist par talen maltrat,
 Quel' cor de remembranza irat,
 A quest amar cant m' ha ditat

From the “ Poésies Occitaniques ” of Fabre D'Olivet, in which under the fictitious form of a *Cour d'Amour*, the best Provençal poetry is introduced, the subjoined translation is from the French text.

J'ai vu bien des choses que je n'ai fait semblant de voir ;
 j'ai souvent ri et badiné avec des gens qui ne me plaisent
 guères ; j'ai rencontré des ingrats en servant des hommes qui
 passaient pour être vertueux, et j'ai vu les plus sots et les plus
 vains discoureurs réussir beaucoup mieux qu'ils ne le mé-
 ritaient.

J'ai vu des femmes sacrifier l'honneur de leurs maris aux plus lâches courtisans; j'ai vu de misérables fleluquets obtenir d'elles des faveurs qu'elles refusaient à des hommes pleines de mérite et de délicatesse. J'ai vu beaucoup d'hommes prodiguer leur fortune, et se ruiner pour des femmes qui se moquaient d'eux et se donnaient pour rien à leurs rivaux. J'ai vu des femmes recherchées par des gens d'esprit résister long-tems à leurs hommages, et céder tout-à-coup au premier sot qui survenait gonflé d'orgueil et ne débitant que des sottises: j'ai vu que si quelques femmes préféraient les plus instruits elles étaient regardées de mauvais oeil par les autres.

J'ai vu toujours échouer auprès des dames les doctes et les mieux appris; j'ai vu, au contraire, les plus imbeciles triompher. J'ai vu la délicatesse devenir nuisible, et la perfidie être d'un grand secours; j'ai vu qu'en amour, la folie sert toujours mieux que la raison.

J'ai vu des dames traiter en coupables des hommes qui n'avaient rien fait que d'innocent, et combler de leurs faveurs ceux dont elles avoient le plus à se plaindre; j'ai vu enfin tant de choses contraires au bon sens, et je me suis tellement convaincu que les peines les plus cruelles naissent souvent des plus nobles desirs, que mon cœur irrité ne m'inspire plus que des chants amers comme les souvenirs dont est rempli.

Extracts from Bouche, Histoire de Provence.

On the Provençal language, Chorographie; t. 1—94.—
 “ Nithard au livre 3, parlant du mutuel serment que les enfans de l'Empereur Louis le Debonnaire, firent au siècle 9, environ l'an 842, nommé Romain, que quelques uns disent qu'il estoit le vray langage Provençal de ce siècle là, pour la grande conformité de paroles qui se trouve en l'un et en l'autre; c'est ainsi que parle Nithard qui vivoit en ce même temps, et qui estoit parent de ces Roys.

Louis, Roi de Germanie, comme le plus aîné, commence de faire son serment de cette sorte, et en ce langage Romain, intelligible aux Français *pro Deo amour et pro Chrestian poblo, et nostro commun salvament, dist di en avant in quan des savir et podir me dunat, si salvarajo cist meon fradre Karlo, et in adjudhar et in cadhuna cosa, si com hom per dreit son fradre salvar dist, ino quid in un altre si faret, et abluder nul plaïd nunquam prendrai que meon voleist fradre Karle in damno sit.*

C'est à dire ; Pour l'amour de Dieu et du peuple Chrestien, à nôtre commun sauvement, d'huy en avant en tant que Dieu sçavoir et pouvoir me donnera, je sauveray à mien frère Charles, et en ayde et en chaque chose si comme homme par droit son frère doit sauver, non comme un autre le feroit—et avec luy nul different jamais je ne prendray, qui de mon vouloir soit que mon frère Charles soit en dommage.

Après que Louis eut fait son serment, Charles le Chauve, Roy de France, son frère, fit le sien en langage Alleman, afin que les sujets de son frère peussent mieux entendre, disant in *Godesmina*, et le reste en langage Alleman. Après le serment des deux Rois frères les sujets du Roy Louis disent en langage Romain dit Nithard :—“ *Si Lodhuvig sacrament que son fadre Karlo jurat conservat et Karlo Meossender de sua part nolo stavit, si io retornar nolint, pois ne nuls cui eo retornar ne pois in nulla adjudha, contra Lodovig mundi iver.*—C'est à dire ; Si Louis le serment que son Frère Charles a juré, garde, et Charles Monseigneur de sa part ne le tient ; si je remettre ne le puis ny nul qui remettre ne le pourroit en nul ayde contre Louis je n'iray.—Et puis après les sujets du Roy Charles disent en langage Alleman *oba Karl &c.* après quoi tous se separerent, Louis se retira en Allemagne et Charles en France.”

“ La suivante, composée par un Guillaume des Almarics, Poète Provençal, environ l'an 1300, à l'honneur de Robert,

Roy de Jerusalem et de Sicile, et Comte de Provence; en laquelle on remarque déjà la structure et la composition de cette gentille sorte de poésie d'aujourd'hui, dite *Sonnet*.

Lou seigneur Diou t'exauce et toujours ty defendé
 Als malvais jours troublas, et ty mandé secours
 Rey pouderaus, al qual lou poblé a son recours
 Apres que Diou ta fach, grand vencedour ty rende.
 Lou Seigneur que ta fach, ta preguieres entendé
 Fasse florir ton nom, tos temps may en tas cours
 Puesques tu veyre en pas de tous jours lou long cours.
 E que d'un bout d'al mondé a l'autre ayés la rendré
 Lous uns en Kavals fiers, autres en granda armada,
 En thesaurs infinis, en kausas transitorias.
 Si fisan totalement et y an esperança;
 Mays tu auras de Diou d'excellentas victorias
 E ton poblé aura sa volantat armada
 E toujours tobezir per ton assecuranza.

Bouche does not give his authority for this Sonnet. It is therefore, probable, as the orthography appears too *French* when compared with other pieces of the same period, that he wrote it from memory. The following copy of it, taken by d'Olivet from Nostradamus, is probably more correct. The sense also differs a little towards the conclusion.

Lou Seignour Diù t'ezauce, é toujours ti defenda
 Als malvays jours troublatz é ti mande secours,
 Rey pouderouz, al qual lou poble ha soun recours
 Après Diù que t'ha fatz, grand vencedour ti renda!
 Lou Seignour que t'ha fatz, tas preguieyras entenda
 Fasa flourir ton noum fora è dedinstas courtz;
 Puesques-tu veyre en paz de téis jours lou long cours
 Eque d'un bout d'al mounde à l'autre ajas la renda.
 Lous uns en cavals fiers, d'autres en soldatz druez,
 En thesaûrs, en grandours, en causas transitorias,
 Si fizan totalmen per esper de saluz.
 Mais tu, ab tout aco, has d'autres bens avutz,
 Car lou premier deis reys à veyre tas victorias,
 Siés lou premier dels homs à comptar tas vertutz.

No. VII.—(p. 72.)

Extract from the Circular of Gregory IX, against Frederic II, of Suabia.

Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo *Cantuarensi*, et suffraganeis ejus, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Ascendit de mari bestia blasphemie, plena nominibus, quæ pedibus ursi et leonis ore desævians, ac membris formata cæteris sicut pardus, os suum in blasphemias divini nominis aperit; et tabernaculum ejus et sanctos qui in cælis habitant, similibus impetere jaculis non omittit. Hæc unguibus et dentibus ferreis cuncta confringere, et suis pedibus universa desiderans conculeare, fidei occultos olim paravit arietes, et nunc apertas machinas instruit *Ismæli-tarium*, gignasia animas avertentia construit, et in *Christum* humani generis redemptorem (cujus testamenti tabulas stylo pravitatis hæreticæ nititur abolere fama testante) consurgit. Igitur admirari desinite omnes, ad quos ab hac bestia contra nos edita pervenerunt obloquia blasphemie, sed nos omni Deo servitute subjecti detractionum sagittis impetimur, cum nec ab his opprobriis immunis Dominus relinquitur. Admirari denite, si injuriarum in nos mucronem exerit, quòd ad perdendum de terra nomen Domini jam assurgit: sed potius ut ejus resistere aperta veritate mendaciis ac illius confutare fallacias puritatis argumento possitis caput, medium, et finem hujus bestie *Frederici* dicti Imperatoris inspicite diligenter; et in ejus verbis abominationes duntaxat invenientes, et scelera, contra ipsius dolos sinceros animos scuto veritatis armate. Attendentes qualiter sinceritatem apostolicæ sedis et nostram, literis per diversa climata mundi transmissis, pollutis nisus est maculare narratibus dictus *Fredericus*; singulus falsitatis, modestiæ nescius, nec aliquo perfusus rubore mentitur.—*Matthew Paris*, 506. This may suffice for a specimen of Papal vituperation. The Epistle concludes with the accusation mentioned in the text.

No. VIII.—(p. 74.)

Death of Pierre des Vignes.

“Eodemque anno, [1249] Fredericus diversis arduis causis undique exagitatus, qui citra montes venerat, ut dominum Papam invaderet, rediit in Apuliam ut dicitur potionatus. Qui cum graviter infirmaretur, consilium habuit à suis physicis ut purgationem medicinale, et postea quoddam balneum ad hoc specialiter præparatum acciperet. Habuit autem magister Petrus de Vinia, qui ipsius Frederici familiarissimus consiliarius et singularis animæ illius custos fuerat, quendam physicum secum, qui ex præcepto tam Frederici quam ipsius Petri ad purgationem dictam necessaria præparaturus subdolanus accessit. de consilio enim ipsius Petri, venenum lethiferum et efficax valde potioni immiscuit et balneo, ut dominum suum in ipsis perimerent confidentem. Ecclesiæ autem inimici dixerunt, quod dominus Papa ad hoc facinus cor Petri, enervando muneribus et pollicitis maximis, inclinarat. Fredericus vero super hoc scelere per aliquem amicorum suorum in ipsa hora, qua sumendus fuit potus ille, prætaxatus, secretius præmonitus et plenius edoctus, physico potionem ostendenti et Petro ait ;— ‘ Amici, confidit in vobis anima mea. Caveatis, supplico, ne mihi in vobis confidenti virus pro medicina porrigatis.’ Cui Petrus :— ‘ O Domine mi, pluries dedit iste meus physicus salutarem vobis potionem, quare modò formidatis ?’ Fredericus autem ostendenti cyphum physico dixit, torvo tamen aspectu et posita a tergo custodia, ne vadere possent proditores : ‘ Propina mihi potum dimicando.’ Physicus igitur obstupefactus et sibi conscius de scelere, simulans offendiculum pedibus lapsum fecisse, corruit in faciem suam, et venenum effudit pro majori parte. Minimam autem quæ supererat partem damnatis quibusdam jussit [Fredericus] extractis de carcere dare ; et statim miseras animas exhalarunt. Certificatus igitur de proditione lethifera sibi præparata, jussit physicum suspendi, et meritò Petrum exoculatum per multas Italiæ et Apuliæ civitates fecit

adduci; ut in propatulo coram omnibus facinus conceptum confiteretur. Tandem jussit idem Fredericus ut Pisanis, qui ipsum Petrum inexorabiliter oderant, præsentaretur perimendus. Quod cum audiret Petrus, ne arbitrio hostium moreretur, quia, ut dicit Seneca, *Arbitrio hostis mori est bis mori*: ad columnam, ad quam alligatus fuerat, caput fortiter allidens, seipsum excerebravit.”—*Matthew Paris*, 964.

The other contemporaries of Pierre des Vignes acquit him, as does Villani, who follows Dante closely in his history.

“Lo imperadore fece abbaccinare il savio uomo maestro Piero delle Vigne, il buono dittatore opponendogli tradizione; ma ciò li fu fatto per invidia di suo grande stato. Per la quale cosa il detto savio per dolore si lasciò morire in prigione, e chi disse ch’egli medesimo si tolse la vita.”

The lamentations of the unfortunate prince are the more affecting as it is believed his friend was falsely condemned.

“Fredericus igitur ad se reversus, cæpit inconsolabiliter dolere, et uberrimè atque amarissimè lachrymari, et exitus aquarum deducebant oculi ejus. Quod erat miserabile videre in homine tantæ autoritatis et ætatis; et lamentando contorquens digitos ait. *Væ mihi! contra quem propria pugnant viscera! Petrus quem petram credideram et dimidium animæ meæ mihi mortis insidias præparavit! Ecce Dominus Papa quem imperium sub magnificis antecessoribus meis de nullo creavit et dilavit, illud molliter exterminare et in me ipsius Imperii titubantis rectorem interitum machinatur. In quem confido? ubi tutus? ubi latus esse possum de cætero? Et condoluerunt circumsedentes amici ejus, usque ad suspiria et lachrymarum effusionem. Et absurdum domini Papæ fama per hoc non medioeriter. Veritatem tamen novit Deus, secretorum perscrutator infallibilis.*—*Matthew Paris*, 964.

No. IX—(p. 74.)

Poetry of Frederic II and Pierre des Vignes.

“ Il n'est resté des poésies de Frédéric II qu'une ode ou chanson galante, dans le genre de celles des Provençaux, et que l'on croit un ouvrage de sa jeunesse : on y voit la langue Italienne à sa naissance encore mêlée d'idiotismes Siciliens, et de mots fraîchement éclos du Latin, qui en gardaient encore la trace.* L'ode est composée de trois strophes, chacune de quatorze vers : l'entrelacement des rimes est bien entendu et tel que les lyriques Italiens le pratiquent souvent encore.—Les pensées sont communes, et les sentimens délayés dans un style lâche et verbeux ; mais cela n'est pas mal pour le temps, et pour un roi qui avait tant d'autres choses à faire que des vers.”

Voici la première strophe de sa *canzone*.

Poiche ti piace amore
 Ch' eo deggia *trovare*
 Faron de mia possanza ;
 Ch' eo vegna a compimento.
 Dato haggio lo meo core
 In voi, Madonna, amare ;
 E tutta mia speranza
 In vostro piacimento,
 E no mi partiraggio
 Da voi, Donna valente,
 Ch' eo v' amo dolcemente.
 E piace a voi ch' eo haggia intendimento ;
 Valimento mi date, donna fina :
 Che lo meo core adesso a voi s'inchina.

“ La forme de cette strophe, l'entrelacement des vers et des rimes, le mot *trovare*, trouver, employé au deuxième vers pour

* Comme *eo* venu d'*ego*, qui était prêt à devenir *io*, et *meo* mien, qui est le Latin même, et qui devint peu de tems après *mio*.

rimer, le faire des vers, &c. tout annonce ici l'imitation de la poésie des Troubadours."—*Ginguené, Hist. Litt. t. i. p. 347.*

Pierre des Vignes.

" Les bons poètes Latins lui étaient familières, et l'on s'en aperçoit au style d'un de ses *canzoni* qui nous a été conservée, elle est en cinq strophes de huit vers en decasyllables. On y voit plusieurs comparaisons qui relèvent un peu l'uniformité des idées et des sentimens."

" Or potess' io venire a voi, amorosa,
Come il ladron ascoso, e non paresse :
Ben lo mi terria in gioja avventurosa
Se l'amor tanto di ben mi facesse.
Si bel parlare, donna, con voi fora.
E direi come v' amai lungamente,
Più che Piramo Tisbe dolcemente
E v' ameraggio in fin ch' io vivo ancora."—*Ibid.*

No. X.—Page 79.

Tesoretto of Brunetto Latini.

" Son *Tesoretto* est cité dans tous les livres qui traitent de la littérature et de la poésie Italienne ; mais aucun n'a donné la moindre idée de ce qu'il contient. Nous avons vu précédemment que Tiraboschi lui-même s'est trompé en ne l'annonçant que comme un traité des vertus et des vices, et comme un abrégé du grand Trésor. Un coup d'œil rapide nous apprendra que c'était autre chose, et qu'il est au moins possible que le Dante en ait profité.

Brunetto Latini, qui était Guelfe, raconte qu'après la défaite et l'exil des Gibelins, la commune de Florence l'avait envoyé en ambassade auprès du roi d'Espagne. Son message fait, il s'en retournait par la Navarre, lorsqu'il apprend qu'après

de nouveaux troubles les Guelfes ont été bannis à leur tour. La douleur qui lui cause cette nouvelle est si forte qu'il perd son chemin *et s'égaré dans un forêt*. Il revient à lui, et parvenu au pied des montagnes il voit une troupe innombrable d'animaux de toute espèce, hommes, femmes, bêtes, serpents, oiseaux, poissons, et une grande quantité de fleurs, d'herbes, de fruits, de pierres précieuses, de perles, et d'autres objets. Il les voit tous obéir, finir et recommencer, engendrer et mourir, selon l'ordre qu'ils reçoivent d'une femme qui parût tantôt toucher le ciel, et s'en servir comme d'un voile; tantôt s'étendre en surface, au point qu'elle semble tenir le monde entier dans ses bras. Il ose se présenter à elle, et lui demander qui elle est. C'est la Nature. Elle lui dit qu'elle commande à tous les êtres; mais qu'elle obéit elle-même à Dieu, qui l'a créée, et qu'elle ne fait que transmettre et faire exécuter ses ordres. Elle lui explique les mystères de la création et de la reproduction: elle passe à la chute des anges et à celle de l'homme, source de tous les maux de la race humaine; elle tire de là des considérations morales et des règles de conduite; elle quitte enfin le voyageur, après lui avoir indiqué le chemin qu'il doit suivre, la forêt dans laquelle il faut qu'il s'engage, et les routes qu'il y doit tenir: dans l'une il trouvera la Philosophie et les Vertus ses sœurs; dans l'autre, les Vices qui lui sont contraires; dans une troisième, le Dieu d'Amour avec sa cour, ses attributs et ses armes. La Nature disparaît; Brunetto suit son chemin, et trouve en effet tout ce qu'elle lui avait annoncé. Dans le séjour changeant et mobile qu'habite l'Amour *il rencontre Ovide*, qui rassemblait les lois de ce Dieu et les mettait en vers. Il s'entretient quelques momens avec lui, et veut ensuite quitter ce lieu; mais il s'y sent comme attaché malgré lui, et ne serait pas venu à bout d'en sortir, *si Ovide ne lui eût fait trouver son chemin*. Plus loin, et dans un des derniers fragments de l'ouvrage, il rencontre aussi Ptolomée, l'ancien astronome, qui commence à l'instruire."

Or mi volse di canto
E vidi un bianco manto.

Et io guardai più fiso
 E vidi un bianco viso.
 Con un barba grande
 Che nel petto si spande.

.....
 Li domandai del nome,
 E chi egli era, e come
 Si stava si soletto,
 Senza niun ricetto.

.....
 Colà dove fue nato,
 Fu Tolomeo chiamato.
 Mastro di strolomia
 E di filosofia, &c.

Voilà donc une Vision du poète, une description de lieux et d'objets fantastiques, un égarement dans une forêt, une peinture idéale de vertus et de vices ; la rencontre d'un ancien poète Latin, qui sert de guide au poète moderne, et celle d'un ancien astronome qui lui explique les phénomènes du ciel ; et voilà, peut-être, aussi le premier germe de la conception du poème de Dante, ou du moins de l'idée générale dans laquelle il jeta et fondit en quelque sorte ces trois idées particulières du Paradis, du Purgatoire, et de l'Enfer. Il aura une vision comme son maître ; il s'égarrera *dans une forêt* dans des lieux déserts et sauvages, d'où il se trouvera transporté en idée partout où l'exigera son plan, et où le voudra son génie. Il lui faut un guide : Ovide en avait servi à Brunetto ; dans un sujet plus grand, il choisira un plus grand poète, celui qui était l'objet continuel de ses études, et dont il ne se séparait jamais. Il choisira Virgile, à qui la descente d'Enée aux enfers donne d'ailleurs pour l'y conduire une convenance de plus. Mais s'il est permis de feindre que Virgile peut pénétrer dans les lieux de peines et de supplices, son titre de Païen l'exclut du lieu des récompenses. Un autre guide y conduira le voyageur. Lorsque dans un de ses premiers écrits (*Vita Nuova*) il avait consacré le souvenir de Beatrix, objet de son premier

amour ; il avait promis, et s'était promis à lui-même de dire d'elle *des choses qui n'avaient jamais été dites d'une femme*. Le temps est venu d'acquitter sa promesse. Ce sera Beatrix que le conduira dans le séjour de gloire, et qui lui en expliquera les phénomènes mystérieux."

Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie, tom. 2. 15.

No. XI—(p. 143.)

King Robert's Letter to the Commune of Florence.

Questa è la lettera e sermone, che il Rè Ruberto mandò a' Fiorentini per cagione del detto diluvio.

(E con tutto che in Latino comme la mandò, fosse piu nobile e di piu alti verbi e intendimento per li belli latini, di quella ci parve di farla volgarizzare, accio che seguisse la nostra materia volgare e fosse utile a' laici come a' litterati.)

“ Alli nobili e savj uomini Priori dell' arti e Gonfaloniere della giustizia, consiglio e comune della città di Firenze amici diletti, divoti suoi, Ruberto per la grazia di Dio di Gerusalemme et di Cicilia Rè, salute e amore sincero. Intendemmo con amaritudine di tutto il cuore, e con piena compassione d'animo, lo piangevole caso e avvenimento di molta tristizia, cioè il disavveduto e subito accidente e molto dannoso cadimento, il quale per soprabondanza di piene d'acqua per divino consentimento in parte aperte le cateratte del cielo venne nella vostra città, li' quali casi nè a noi conviene altrimenti isporlo nè a voi altrimenti imputarlo, se non come la scrittura divina dice, cotali cose a caso avvenire. Non si conviene a noi, il quale per la reale condizione la veritade ha a conservare, essere amico lusinghevole, nè di riprendere la giustizia di Dio dicendo, che voi siate innocenti. La dottrina dell' apostolo

dice ; *se noi diremo che noi non abbiamo peccato, noi inganneremo noi medesimi, e non fia in noi veritate.* Adunque li nostri peccati richieggiono, che non solamente noi incorriamo in questi pericoli, ma eziandio in maggiori. Noi dovemo appropriare il singolare diluvio alli particolari peccati, siccome l' universale diluvio fu mandato da Dio per li universali peccati, per li quali ogni carne avea abbreviata la via sua dalla umana generazione. Noi conosciamo l'ordine di questa pestilenza per la scrittura dello evangelio, però che poi la verità di Dio antimise le sconfitte date da' nemici, soggiunse i diluvj e le tempeste, per le quali parla S. Gregorio dicendo così sopra il vangelo dove è scritto, *saranno segni nel sole e nella luna ; e se noi sostenemo, dice San Gregorio, pestilenzie senza cessamento avvegna che prima Italia fosse conceduta a esserc fedita dal coltello de' Pagani, io viddi in cielo schiere di fuoco, e viddi colui medesimo splendente di splendori a modo di balenare, il quale poi sparse il sangue umano. La confusione del mare e delle tempeste non è solamente nuova levata, ma concio sia cosa che molti pericoli già annunziati e compiuti sieno, non è dubbio, che non seguitino, e eziandio i pochi, i quali restano a cotale imputazione, di passare a nostra correzione, non a stravolgimento di disperazione.* E noi crediamo intra queste cose non solamente la giustizia di Dio essere nutrice di costoro, ma crediamo la bontà divina essere siccome madre pietosamente correggente e in meglio mutante, dicendo Santo Agostino, nel sermone dello abbassamento di Roma ; *Iddio anzi il giudicio opera disciplina molte volte non eleggendo colui cui elli batta, non volendo trovare colui cui elli condanni.* E elli medesimo dice sopra quello verso del Salmo *siccome viene meno il fumo, vengano meno eglino ; tutto ciò, che a tribulazioni noi patiamo in questa vita è battitura di Dio, il quale ne vuole correggere, acciò che nella fine non ne condanni.* E perciò Santo Agostino nel predetto sermone delle tribulazioni e delle pressure del mondo dice ; *Quante volte alcuna cosa di tribulazione e di pressure noi soffriamo, le tribulazioni insieme son nostre correzioni.* Ma queste cose con istudio è da guardarci che noi alcuna cosa notabilmente de' meriti nostri vendichiamo, e che noi non ci

maravigliamo, quasi s' elle non fossero cagioni di queste tribulazioni quelle cose che noi dicemmo; però che Agostino medesimo dice nel sermone dello abbassamento della città di Roma; *Maravigliansi gli uomini; or si maravigliassono eglino solamente, e non bestemmiassono.* Ancora è da schifare per queste cose mormorare contro a Dio, siccome la nostra nequizia biasimasse la divina dirittura, e siccome se le nostre innumerabili e grandissime colpe riprendessono la divina giustizia: siccome n' ammonisce Agostino nel predetto sermone delle tribulazione del mondo, dicendo. *O fratelli non è da mormorare siccome alcuna di coloro mormorano,* e l'apostolo dice; *e da' serpenti perirono* Or che cosa disusata sostiene ora l'umana generazione, le quali non patiscono li nostri padri? Ancora ci è un'altra cosa. Poco sarebbe riconoscere i peccati, se quel cotale non si propone a schifare per innanzi quelli. In quello caso non è da dubitare, che colui che pregherà per perdonanza, quella con orazione impetri, e così acquisti la divina grazia, e a schifare la rigidezza del giudicio, siccome per lo savio Salomone si dice: *Figliuolo, tu peccasti, or non vi arrogere più; ma priega per li passati peccati ch'elli ti sieno dimessi.* Noi leggiamo d'altre cittadi, le quali per li loro gravi peccati con ampia vendetta doveano essere disfatte, essere riscrvate; e revocata la sentenza per penitenza e per orazioni. Al tempo d'Arcadio Imperadore, volendo Iddio fare paura alla città di Costantinopoli, e impaurita emendarla, revelò a uno fedele uomo, che quella città dovea perire per fuoco di cielo. Costui il manifestò al vescovo, e il vescovo il predicò al popolo. La città si convertì in pianto di penitenza, siccome già fece l'antica città di Ninive. Venne il dì, che Iddio avea minacciato, e ecco di verso il levante una nuvola di fuoco dalla parte d'oriente con puzzolente fiato de solfo, e stette sopra la città, accio che gli uomini non pensassono, che colui che avea così detto fosse per falsità ingannato: e fuggendo gli uomini alla chiesa, la nuvola cominciò a sciemare, e appoco appoco si disfece, e il popolo fu fatto sicuro. Siccome Agostino nel detto sermone introduce; *Secondo questo Iddio per bocca di profeta avea avanti detto, che la smisurata città di Ninive si dovea*

disfare, e troviamo, che essa fu deliberata per asprezza di penitenzia e per grida d'orazioni; nè dalla penitenzia nè da adorare sieno dilungi le limosine loro salutevoli compagne, secondo il consiglio di Daniello dato a Nabuccodonosor Rè, che con limosine ricomperasse le sue peccata e rattemperasse la sentenza di Dio contro a lui pronunziata. Guardiamo insieme adunque lo spaventevole giudizio di Dio, e pensiamo de pigliare rimedio, e schifiamo il rimanente, che è da temere; per le quale cose non le nostre parole, ma quelle del Salvatore proferiamo in mezzo; e elli disse; or pensate voi, che quelli 18, sopra li quali cadde la torre in Siloe e ucciseli, fossero colpevoli senza tutti gli altri abitanti in Gerusalemme? io vi dico di nò; ma se voi non farete penitenzia simigliantemente perirete. Dove 'Tito dice, una torre è aguagliata alla cittade acciochè la parte spaventi il tutto; quasi dica tuttà la cittade poco poi fà occupata, se gli abitanti perseveranno nelle infedeltadi. La quale cosa mostra Beda dicendo; perchè ellino non faceano penitenzia, nel quarentesimo anno della passione di Cristo li Romani cominciando da Galilea, onde era cominciata la predicazione del Signore, l'empie genti infino alle radici distrussero. Ma acciò che per quelle parole, che abbiamo dette di sopra, non siamo giudicato grave amico, e acciò che noi non inganniamo i meriti delle vostre virtudi le quali ci confidiamo essere accette, nella benignità di Dio, attendendo alla divina scrittura, la quale non pure riprende li prosuntuosi per ammaestrargli, ma addolcisce gli afflitti, acciochè per rimedio di consolazione li conforti ispesse volte in suoi luoghi; queste cotali passioni e pressure confessiamo, che avvengono per provarci; però che in quello che Dio essamina, si loda dalla veritade della pazienza in noi l'apostolico testimonio. La sua pietosa provvidenza non ci lascia tentare oltra alla nostra possa, ma colla tentazione fa frutto. Quale utilitade cerchiamo noi fedeli maggiore, che cotali miserie, noi prendiamo efficace argomento dell' amore di Dio, che ne approva perchè al proponimento a voi santo religioso cherico Judit femina dirizza e manda la seguente parola: E ora, O fratelli, perchè voi, che siete preti nel popolo di Dio, da voi dipende l'anima di coloro

al vostro parlare, dirizzate i cuori loro, sì che si ricordino coloro, che sono tentati che li nostri padri furono tentati acciocchè fossero provati, se eglino adoravano veramente Iddio suo: ricordare si debbono come il padre nostro Abraam fu tentato, e provato per molte tribulazioni fatto è amico di Dio; così fu Isaac, così fu Jacob, così Moises, e tutti quelli che piaceano a Dio, per molte tribulazioni passarono fedeli. Onde a Tobia disse l'angelo. Però che tu eri caro a Dio fu necessario, che la tentazione ti provasse. Or crediamo noi e voi essere migliori e più innocenti, che li nostri antichi padri patriarchi, li quali per tante miserie di battiture e mandate e concedute da Dio trapassarono santi? O disdegnamo o maggiormente indegnamo noi indegni membri di patire quelle cose, le quali non ischifarono gli apostoli, nostro corpo la chiesa, nostro capo Cristo, cioè il fuoco, il ferro, li martirii, villanie, noi quasi dischiattati, e come non appartenessero loro, e come non partesici di loro fortuna o forse più santi, con impazienza portiamo cotali cose? Ma se per impazienza ch'è in noi, elli ci pare troppo malagevole seguitare li padri di ciascuno testamento, almeno non isdegnamo per pazienza le virtù, prendere esempli dall' infedeli principi e filosofi li quali furono: siccome scrive Seneca libro primo dell' ira di Fabio, che primo vinse l'ira sua che Annibale; Julio Cesare nel libro della vita de' Cesari; e d'Ottaviano Augusto nel Policrato libro terzo capitolo decimoquarto; di Domiziano, siccome testimonia il bello parlatore Licinio; e Antigone Rè secondo Seneca libro terzo dell' ira; e della pazienza de' Filosofi, cioè di Socrate, libro terzo di Seneca dell' ira, e di Diogene, libro terzo dell' ira anzi il fine, acciocchè non passi il manifesto o occulto lamento d'alcuno o d'alcuni siccome contrario. Ancora per li mormoramenti delli incredenti che dicono, che questi tempi sono peggiori, che li antichi tempi, e che Iddio ha riservato la ndegnazione dell' ira sua infino al loro, e che li ha riserbati gli presenti di a spandere quella—Leggano ovvero odano li leggenti da Adamo fatiche e sudore spine e triboli diluvio dicadimento: trapassarono tempi pieni di fatica, di fame, e di guerra, e però sono

scritte, acciò che non mormoriamo del presente tempo contro a Dio. Passò quel tempo appo gli padri nostri, rimotissimi, molto da' nostri temporali, quando il capo dell' asino morto si vendè altrettanto oro; quando lo sterco colombino si comperò non poco argento; quando le femine palleggiarono ensieme di manicare i loro fanciulli. Or non avemo noi, in orrore quelle cose? Leggetele, spaventiamociene, sì che noi avemo maggiormente, onde ci allegrare, che onde mormorare delli nostri tempi. Quando fu dunque bene dell' umana generazione? quando non paura? quando non dolore? quando certa felicitade? quando non vera infelicitade? dove fia la vita sicura? Or non è questa terra quasi una grande nave portante uomini tempestati, pericolati, soggiacenti a tanti marosi e a tante tempeste, tementi il pericolare, sospiranti in porto e di compensare la conoscente e grata ragione della nostra considerazione, e il compensamento della diritta bilancia quanto in ricchezze, in morbidezze, in potenza e cittadini Iddio la vostra cittade nobilitò, scampò, e sopra tutte le vicine anzi remote cittadi senza comparazione essaltò, sì ch' ella puote essere simigliata ad adornato arbore fronzuto e fiorito, dilatante gli rami suoi infino a' termini del mondo? Per tanti e sì grandi beneficii temporali non vi dimentichi nell' avversitadi di dire le vostre lingue col santo Job: *Se noi riceviamo li beni dalla mano del Signore perchè non sosteniamo li mali?* Ancora queste afflizioni alcuna volta salutevolmente ne sono mandate e avvengonci a spirituale profitto, però che se alcuna volta non fossero mandate e permesse da Dio, noi ci crederemmo quì avere cittadi stanti, dimoranti, e poco curemmo di cercare della eterna, con san Pietro dicendo: *Buono è a noi essere qui.* Ma li mali, che piu ne priemono, ci fanno pensare al cielo, e attendere alla futura gloria. E se per avventura alcuno svergognato o arrogante presumesse di storcersi contro all' opera dello eterno artefice, intendea rispondere a lui la bontade delle creature, la quale il fabricatore di tutte le cose dal principio riguardò nelle sue creature. Se il fiume, il quale annuiistrò tanti dilettementì e tante grandi utilità del cominciamento della tua cittade, perchè

gravemente porti, se una volta con disusato allagare ti fece alcuni danni? Ma, dirà un altro calunniatore, perchè noi dicemmo davanti, che le tribolazioni ne sono ammonimento e correzioni, dicono, acciò ch' io diventi migliore, sono puniti quelli, perchè io viva quelli, che mojono, perchè io sia serbato, quelli sono perduti. *Non perciò*, dice san Giovanni Grisostomo, *ma sono puniti per li loro peccati proprii, ma fassi da questo a quelli, che veggiono materia di salvarsi.* Or forse si leveranno contro invidiosi giudicando voi per lo partimento del detto cadimento essere in maggiori peccati intrigati di loro, e per questo essere più odiosi a Dio? anzi si crederanno essere più giusti di voi e meno colpevoli e più graziosi al giusto giudice? Questi di vero per quello medesimo errore anzi mentiranno per suoi meriti. Il Rè Salomone certamente pacifico, a cui fu riserbato edificare del tempio, e ne' cui tempi sorse la tranquillitate della pace, e il cui regno non conobbe guerra, al suo padre David santissimo, a cui fu interdetto l' edificare di quello medesimo tempio, lo quale fu nominato da Dio, uomo spanditore di sangue, il quale riputò essere provocato da continui pericoli di guerre, da due volte da Dio manifestamente e piuvicemente fu corretto. In quello medesimo modo, coloro, che non sanno gli santi libri, diranno, che li amici di Job fossero più innocenti di lui, e antimetteranno loro nel reguiderdonamento; imperciò che noi non leggiamo, ch' elli fossero esaminati da Dio nelle pestilenze, siccome Job, però che di vero elli non erano auro nè argento da provare nella fornace del fuoco, nè da riporre nel tesoro del sommo Rè, ma erano maggiormente paglia o letame, li quali messi in sul fuoco gittano puzzo spiacente a Dio e abominevole a gli uomini. Or giudicheremo noi per simile ciechitate, che li marinai fossero migliori che Giona profeta, per lo quale si prova, che si levò la tempesta, però fu sommerso in mare e inghiottito dal pescie, lo quale fu messaggio di Dio banditore di penitenza e figura di Cristo passuro, e li marinai furono pagani e adoratori d' idoli? Non maraviglia, se le grazie e prerogative di virtudi che noi diciamo, Iddio riguardò in voi, li quali elli essamini, e provati guider-

doni, e coronati voi, li quali siete conosciuti sempre essere stati in Italia chiaro braccio della chiesa e nobile fondamento di tutta fede. Non si maraviglino dunque li rimproveranti invidiosi, se uno poco innanzi colle promesse sentenzie della santa scrittura noi mostriamo per la pruova delle sante virtudi noi essere accettati da Dio, approvati al suo beneplacimento, se intanto voi vi riconoscerete umilmente, che per li vostri peccati voi incorreste nelli predetti danni; e comportateli con virtù di pazienza, con pagamenti per ciò di devote boci rendere grazia. Dice il sapientissimo Rè: *Figliuolo mio, non gittare la disciplina del Signore, e non fallire, quando da lui se' corretto; colui, cui il Signore ama si'l gastiga e come padre il figliuolo si compiace.* La quale sentenza non isdegna d' allegare l' apostolo nelle sue pistole dicendo: *Figliuolo mio non mettere in non calere la disciplina del Signore, nè ti sia fatica, quando da lui sarai ripreso; colui, cui il Signore ama, si 'l gastiga; elli batte chiunque elli riceve in figliuolo:* Ecco adunque per le soprascritte cose avete chiaramente, che per le pressure delle predette passioni si dimostrano essere in voi virtudi e meriti, e che non solamente voi siete ricevuti in amici di Dio, ma specialmente siete da lui in figliuoli, a' quali si pone la disciplina non solamente remunerazione, si premette, ma si serba loro certa ereditade. Appare dunque per la veritade della santa scrittura, che le virtudi e i meriti sono remunerati da giustissimo Rè delli Rè, eziandio in alcuni di vero, ne' quali pubblicamente e manifestamente eziandio rilucono temporalmente, ad esempio del mutamento de' buoni, siccome è scritto del beato Job, al quale furono restituiti duplicati li perduti beni: ma ne gli altri più preziosi e migliori senza comparazione si serba il meritamento nella futura gloria. Li predetti ammonimento, li quali noi stimiamo non esser alla vostra prudenzia tanto soperchi, quanto necessari, prevedemmo di mandare per debito di caritade alla vostra dilezione, e ancora le compassioni, alle quali ci condogliamo con tutte le interiora dell' amistade, e le consolazioni de' veri libri vi soggiugnemmo, alle quali noi d' abbondante offeriamo d' aggiugnere quelle consolazioni di fatto, che noi fare possiamo, altre volte offerte;

ma la promessa nostra lettera, pochi dì poi che a noi fu manifesto il vostro sopradetto caso ordinammo di mandarvi, ma però che il conseguente riducimento di più persone contene molto me ne ritenne, quella più tostamente essere venuta al mandare d'essa suspendemmo. Ma ora più deliberatamente provedemmo, e stimando in ogni caso, che si appartenea a nostra informazione e vostra cautela, vi mandiamo; nè alla vostra amistà rincresca di bene leggere la lunghezza della presente lettera, la quale non rincrebbe a noi di compilare intra tante e sì faticose sollicitudini. Data a Napoli, sotto il nostro secreto anello, addì 2 di Dicembre seconda indizione anni 1333.

No. XII—(p. 148.)

Petrarch's Africa.

“Pétrarque n'intitula point son poème Scipion, mais *L'Afrique*. Si l'essence de l'épopée est l'invention, si elle doit offrir à l'imagination une grande machine poétique, en même temps qu'une grande action historique à la mémoire, l'Afrique n'est point une épopée, mais un simple récit en vers. Ce qu'elle a de merveilleux occupe les deux premiers livres; et ce merveilleux se réduit à un songe, dans lequel le héros du poème voit Publius Scipion son père: et encore l'idée de ce songe, et plusieurs des traits dont il est rempli, sont ils pris du fragment de Cicéron, si connu sous le titre de *Songe de Scipion*. Dans le premier livre, Publius Scipion raconte à son fils l'origine et les principaux faits de la première guerre Punique, sans oublier la bataille où il fut tué en Espagne avec son frère Cneas. Dans le second il lui prédit l'heureux événement de la guerre qu'il va soutenir contre Carthage, son triomphe et l'abaissement de cette orgueilleuse rivale, et les effets que causa cette victoire sur les mœurs et la destinée de Rome. Il donne au jeune Scipion d'excellents avis sur les

moyens de délivrer sa patrie des dangers extérieurs et intérieurs qui la menacent ; mais quoiqu'il y ait dans tous les discours de fort belles choses, souvent même très heureusement exprimées, comme sur neuf livres, que contient le poëme, ce songe en remplit deux entiers, on ne peut se dispenser, en le lisant, de trouver que le héros rêve beaucoup trop long-temps.

“ Scipion, encouragé par les conseils de son père, commence par envoyer son ami Lélius auprès de Syphax pour l'engager à une alliance avec Rome. La description magnifique de la cour de ce Roi Maure, la réception qu'il fait à Lélius, le repas splendide qu'il lui donne, l'origine de Carthage, chantée par un jeune musicien pendant ce repas, le récit que Lélius fait à Syphax de celle de Rome, des belles actions des anciens Romains, et de la mort de Lucrece, qui fut la source de leur liberté, mort qui est ici racontée dans un morceau très étendu, très soigné, et où le poëte paraît avoir fait tous ses efforts pour se surpasser lui-même—tout cela remplit le troisième livre ; sans que l'action soit, pour ainsi dire, entamée : elle fait un pas au quatrième ; mais c'est encore par un récit. Lélius, interrogé par Syphax, lui raconte la vie de Scipion, qu'il représente aussi grand à Rome que dans les camps, et dans la paix que dans la guerre. Il s'étend surtout avec complaisance sur le siège et la prise de Carthagène, où Scipion traita avec une bonté délicate et généreuse de jeunes et belles captives, et rendit la plus belle de toutes à un jeune prince son amant.

“ Mais cette dernière partie de l'action n'est point finie : il y a ici une lacune considérable qu'aucun auteur Italien n'a remarquée, tant ce poëme de l'Afrique, si souvent nommé dans les écrits dont Pétrarque est le sujet, est peu connu et lu. Le quatrième livre finit au moment où Lélius raconte à Syphax, que dans l'appartement du palais on entendait les cris des princesses et des jeunes femmes de leur suite, et que Scipion, sachant le danger qu'elles pouvaient courir, si elles paraissaient aux yeux de son armée, défendit que l'on entrât dans leur asyle, et les fit conduire en sûreté loin du théâtre de la guerre. Au commencement du cinquième ce n'est plus Lélius qui parle : on n'est plus à la cour de Syphax pour

assister à un festin et entendre des récits. L'alliance a été refusée ; la guerre a éclaté ; Syphax est vaincu ; Scipion entre dans Cyrthe, capitale de ses états ; et au lieu de l'histoire de la jeune princesse Espagnole qui fut rendue à son amant, c'est celle de Sophonisbe, épouse de Syphax, que la ruine de ce roi, l'amour de Massinissa, et l'horreur de la servitude, forcent à se donner la mort. Ce poëme, que Pétrarque, termina, mais auquel il ne mit jamais la dernière main, éprouva, après sa mort, quelques vicissitudes, dans lesquelles il est vraisemblable qu'il se sera perdu un livre entier. Ce livre devait contenir la fin du récit de Lélius, le refus de Syphax de s'allier avec les Romains, sa résolution subite de les attaquer lui-même, la marche de Scipion contre lui, le siège de Cyrthe et la prise de cette ville. Cette perte est peu regrettable, puisque le poëme a excité si peu d'intérêt qu'on ne s'est pas aperçu de la lacune qu'elle y a laissé.

“ L'action une fois reprise, marche jusqu'à la fin d'accord avec l'histoire ; et quoiqu'il ait d'assez longues digressions, l'invention y a si peu de part qu'ils paraît inutile de pousser plus loin cette analyse pour arriver par une route directe à un évènement prévu. La première idée de cet ouvrage avait transporté Pétrarque ; ce fut sur son *Africa* qu'il voulut fonder sa gloire ; ce fut le bruit que firent dans le monde les premiers livres, l'esperance qu'ils faisaient concevoir du reste, et le plaisir qu'eut le Roi Robert à les entendre, qui firent décerner à l'auteur la couronne poétique.

“ Mais le refroidissement où il tomba bientôt sur ce travail, la peine qu'il eut à le reprendre, l'imperfection où il le laissa, toujours prouvent que, dans le fond, il ne le sentait point en proportion avec ses forces, ni analogue à son génie. Dans sa vieillesse il n'aima point qu'on lui en parlât, ni que l'on tentât la curiosité de le voir.

“ Les copies ne s'en multiplièrent qu'après sa mort ; et ce fut par les soins de Coluccio Salutati et de Boccace, qui l'obtinent de ses héritiers à force de prières. Malgré les défauts qui y dominant, et qui l'emportent de beaucoup sur les beautés, il est heureux qu'il se soit conservé, non pas pour la

réputation du poëte, mais pour l'histoire de la poësie; c'est un monument précieux de cette époque de renaissance, bon à garder, comme ces tableaux et ces statues, productions de l'enfance de l'art, qui n'en augmentent ni la gloire ni les jouissances, mais que l'on n'examine pas sans fruit quand on en veut étudier l'histoire."—*Ginguené, Hist. Litt. d'Italie*, t. ii. 472.

The whole of Petrarch's Latin works fill 1,250 folio pages, and consist of moral and historical treatises, twelve Eclogues, three books of Epistles in verse, and seventeen in prose: the latter are the most valuable of all his works in an historical point of view, and it is chiefly from them that the superior excellence of his character is to be estimated.

No. XIII.—(p. 161.)

Coronation of Petrarch.

In the year 1549 a burlesque relation of the coronation of Petrarch appeared at Padua under the name of his friend, Sennuccio del Bene, the amiable poet. This pleasantry, now attributed to Jerome Mercatelli, canon of Padua, has been taken seriously by the learned. Thomasini, amongst the early biographers of the Laureat, inserts it at length in his work, and in the early editions of Crescembini, that author says, that Sennuccio has very elegantly described the coronation of Petrarch. De Sade indignantly demonstrates the relation in question to have been a mere forgery. The reader will doubtless wonder that it ever could have been considered in any other light than as a pleasantry—as such it is exquisite. The following translation is taken from the notes to De Sade.

Rélation du Couronnement de Pétrarque au Capitole.

“ Le jour marqué pour cette cérémonie fut plus beau et plus serein qu'à l'ordinaire. On chanta une messe solennelle

à l'autel de Saint Pierre, qui fut célébrée par l'Evêque de Burlant, Vice-Légat. Ensuite on mena Pétrarque en grand cortège au palais Colonne, près de Ste. Maria in Via Lata, où on le fit dîner avec toute la noblesse, et les gens de lettres de Rome. Le festin fut magnifique et bien servi.

“ Après le dîner, le sous-maître lut quelques ouvrages de Pétrarque, et fit un discours à l'assemblée, dans lequel, après avoir fait son éloge, il dit, que le Roi Robert l'ayant jugé digne de la couronne il prioit ceux qui composoient l'assemblée de vouloir bien l'accompagner dans cette cérémonie.

“ Ils répondirent tous qu'ils étoient prêts à faire tout ce qui dépendoit d'eux pour honorer une personne de ce mérite : ensuite on habilla le poëte de cette manière.

“ On lui mit au pied droit nud une chaussure de cuir, couleur de pourpre, en forme de pantoufle, avec des liens par dessus qui la tenoient bien liée : c'est la chaussure qui convient aux poëtes tragiques. Au pied gauche, une autre chaussure violette, en forme de brodequin, qui s'attachoit avec un lien bleu par dessus le pied et autour de la jambe en faisant plusieurs tours ; c'est la chaussure des poëtes comiques, qui écrivent des choses plus communes et plus agréables. Le violet est la couleur de l'amour : le bleu celle de la jalousie, qui est inseparable de l'amour.

“ Sur son pourpoint de taffetas gris, on lui vêtit une longue robe de velours violet, froncée à l'endroit du collet, avec des manches. Elle étoit doublée d'un taffetas verd, pour marquer que le poëte doit toujours avoir des idées neuves, et garnie autour d'un galon d'or fin, qui signifioit que les productions du poëte doivent être affinées comme l'or. Enfin on le ceignit d'une chaîne de diamans, pour faire entendre que le poëte doit tenir ses idées secrettes. On voit par là que la poésie a plus de mystères qu'on ne pense. Sur cette robe, on lui en mit une autre de satin blanc, ouverte par les côtés, sans ceinture, semblable à celle que les Empereurs portoient dans les triomphes à cause d'un certain rapport qui est entre les Empereurs et les poëtes. Le blanc est le symbole de la purété, qui doit être la vertu des poëtes.

“ Ensuite on lui couvrit la tête d'une mitre de toiles d'or faite en pointe, pour qu'on y put placer plus aisément les couronnes, et garnie de pendants par derrière comme celle des Evêques. On lui attacha au col une lyre, qui est l'enseigne du poète, avec une chaîne composée de figures de dragons pour lui faire entendre qu'il doit changer et se renouveler tous les ans comme le dragon.

“ On lui mit aux mains une paire de gands de loutre, animal qui vit de rapine ; cela convient aux poètes, dit Gui d'Arezzo, parce qu'ils vont pillant d'un côté et d'autre.

“ Quand on l'eut ainsi équipé, on lui donna pour porter la queue de sa robe une fille échevelée, les pieds nus, avec une peau d'ours en écharpe, tenant une chandelle allumée à la main gauche. Elle representoit la folie, qui s'imagine voir mieux à la lueur de son petit flambeau qu'à la clarté du soleil. On sait que c'est la manie des poètes.

“ Pétrarque descendit en cet état dans la cour, où il trouva un chariot garni de devises, couvert de laurier, de lierre, et de myrthe, et entouré d'un drap d'or où étoient représentés le Parnasse, Pégase, l'Aganippe et Apollon dansant avec les Muses. Orphée, Homère, Virgile, Catulle, et plusieurs autres poètes Grecs et Latins étoient spectateurs. De nos poètes Toscans on y voyoit Rannuccio et Albert de Castel Florentin.

“ A la cime du char on avoit placé un siège très élevé, où Pétrarque s'assit. On ne voulut pas le faire monter à cheval pour que son triomphe ressemblât davantage à celui des Empereurs, dont les poètes écrivent les gestes. Sans doute on lui auroit donné pour monture un lion, un tigre, ou quelque autre bête féroce, s'il y en avoit eu à Rome. On voit par Orphée que les poètes apprivoisent les animaux les plus farouches. Les quatre pieds du siège étoient d'un lion, d'un elephant, d'un gryphon et d'une panthère. Pétrarque avoit à la main une grande lyre d'ivoire, et auprès de lui des plumes, du papier, de l'encre, des livres, et tous les attributs des arts libéraux. Autour du chariot on avoit mis des images de tous les Dieux ; des personnes représentant Mars armé, Venus

nue, avec une troupe de petits amours, et les trois graces étoient sur le char. On l'avoit jugé aussi convenable parce que ce sont les divinités dont les poètes tirent le plus de secours.

“ Bacchus paroissoit sur le timon, entouré de vases pleins de vins exquis de tous les pays. A sa gauche la Patience, vêtue de brun, tenoit les rênes des quatre coursiers qui tiroient le char.

“ Il étoit précédé d'une paysanne habillée de brun qui chassoit devant elle avec une houssine, un homme bien parfumé, couché nonchalamment dans une litière, portée par deux chevaux qui alloient au pas ; c'étoit la Fatigue chassant l'Oisiveté qui n'a jamais conduit personne au triomphe.

“ A côté du char marchaient trois estafiers, vêtus des livrées du poëte, portant le laurier, le lierre, et le myrthe. A la suite on voyoit la Pauvreté en vieux haillons, et la Moquerie couverte d'une peau de sanglier, qui tiroit de temps en temps une langue de serpent. Elles s'efforçoient quelquefois de monter sur le char et ne pouvoient venir à bout. Paroissent ensuite les deux conservateurs de Rome, ayant au milieu d'eux le sous-maitre des cérémonies qui régloit la marche.

“ Je remarquai une chose qui me surprit. Dans l'aller et le venir l'Envie ne s'éloigna jamais du char. Elle étoit telle qu'Ovide la peint ; elle avoit à la main une arbalète bandée prête à tirer. On scait qu'elle poursuit toujours les gens à talent, surtout les bons poëtes.

“ Deux chœurs de musique, l'un composé de voix et l'autre d'instruments, suivoient le cortège avec une troupe de satyres, de faunes, et de jolies nymphes, qui dansoient. Lorsque la musique cessoit, on entendoit les voix de quelques jeunes gens qui voltigeoient autour du char en chantant des vers Latins et Toscans à l'honneur de Pétrarque et de Rome, c'étoit un charme de les entendre.

“ Les rues étoient jonchées de fleurs ; les portes des temples et des palais ouvertes. On voyoit partout un grand concours de monde accouru des environs et de fort loin : il y en avoit jusques sur les toits. Les fenêtres en étoient pleines et

ornées de dames et de demoiselles qui jetoient des roses, des jasmins, des lys, et toute sorte de fleurs ; elles repandirent plus d'eau de rose, d'eau de fleurs d'orange, et de parfums de toute espèce que les Espagnols et les Napolitains n'en consomment dans un an. Il arriva quelque chose d'assez plaisant. Le char où étoit Pétrarque passant sous les fenêtres d'une Dame Romaine, jeune et belle, elle voulut prendre un vase où elle tenoit des eaux de senteurs pour jetter sur lui : elle se trompa et prit à la place un vase d'eau forte dont elle se servoit pour faire son fard. Le hazard fit que dans ce moment le poète, je ne sçai pourquoi, venoit d'ôter sa mitre et avoit la tête découverte. La force corrosive du sublimé dont il ne perdit pas une goutte, a fait tomber tous ses cheveux, et il y a apparence que le voilà chauve pour le reste de sa vie : je le crois trop sage pour s'en soucier beaucoup.

“ Combien de Dames envioient le bonheur de Laure d'avoir un amant qui chantoit si bien ! Combien d'hommes regrettoient de n'avoir pas mieux employé le temps consacré à l'étude ! Jeunes gens nés avec de l'esprit et des talents, voilà quel sera le fruit de vos peines si vous voulez ! Lisez, apprenez, cultivez les talents que vous avez reçus de la nature ; imitez Pétrarque dans ses travaux, si vous voulez l'égaliser dans sa gloire !

“ Au milieu de cette gloire, et de ces honneurs excessifs, Pétrarque arriva au capitolé. Il y fit un discours pour demander la couronne, qui fut généralement applaudi. Quand il eut fini, le sénateur d'un consentement unanime, déclara qu'il étoit doué de toutes les vertus, et qu'il possédoit toutes les connaissances nécessaires à un poète. Ensuite on lui mit les trois couronnes ; l'une de lierre, parceque c'est ainsi que Bacchus couronna le premier poète ; la seconde de laurier, arbre consacré aux vainqueurs, parceque les poètes autrefois se livroient une sorte de combat, et celui qui remportait la victoire étoit couronné comme un général d'armée. On dit qu'Homère fit un défi à Hesiodé à qui chanteroit le mieux Théodamant : Hesiodé vaincu, alla lui-même placer une couronne de laurier sur la tête d'Homère, et fit un distique à

sa louange :—La troisième de myrthe, on sait que c'est l'arbre de Venus, que les poètes sont ordinairement amoureux, et aiment à chanter les plaisirs de l'amour. Le sénateur lui donna un beau rubis estimé 500 ducats d'or ; le peuple Romain lui fit présent de cette somme et de tout les habits qui avoient servi à la cérémonie, pour lui marquer sa reconnaissance de ce qu'il avoit mieux aimé être couronné à Rome qu'à Paris.

“ Je n'ai pas vu ce que je vais dire ; mais je le tiens de gens dignes de foi. Ils n'ont assuré qu'après la cérémonie Pétrarque fut mené dans un endroit retiré où il n'y avoit que le Sénateur, les conservateurs, et le maître des cérémonies ; en leur présence il se mit en pourpoint et s'escrima quelque temps avec l'épée et avec la lance. On prétend que les poètes ayant à parler souvent de combats doivent être habiles en fait d'armes. Je me rappelle un certain Philotheo Viridario de Bologne qui a fait un traité sur l'escrime et la danse, où il enseigne plusieurs secrets de ces deux arts.

“ Petrarque étant remonté dans son chariot, alla dans le même ordre qu'il étoit venu à l'église de Saint Pierre, où il rendit grâces à Dieu et entendit vêpres et complines. Il se rendit ensuite au Palais Colonne où l'on avoit préparé un grand festin. Après souper, pour amuser la compagnie composée des plus belles Dames de Rome, il dansa en pourpoint une belle et vigoureuse moresque avec des petites cloches aux bras et aux jambes ; ce qu'on regarda comme un trait de politesse et de grandeur d'ame digne d'un poète qui venoit de triompher.”—*De Sade*, t. 2, Notes.

Estratto dal Diario di Ludovico Monaldeschi, Auctore contemporaneo.

L'anno 1341, nel Pontificato di Papa Benedetto XII, in quel tempo che fù alla Papa Misier Stephano della Colonna, Misier Orso della Anguillara, volse coronare Misier Francesco Petrarcha, nobile Poeta, e fù fatta in Campidoglio in

questa maniera. Le vestiò di rosso dodeci jovani de quindici anni l'uno. Et erano tutti figli di gentilhuomini et cittadini. Uno fù dalla casa dello Fumo, et uno de casa Trincia, uno de casa Crescentio, uno de casa Caffarelli, uno de casa Capozuchi, uno de casa Cancellieri, uno de casa Cuccino, uno de casa Rosci, uno de casa Papazuri, uno de casa Paparese, uno de casa Altieri, et uno de casa Sucij. E poi chisti jovani dissero muti versi in favore dello popolo fatti da chisso Poeta, e poi iro sei cittadini vestuti di panno verde; e furono, Saviello, nò Conte, nò Orsino, nò Anibale, nò Paparese, nò Montanaro, e portavano una corona per uno di diversi fiori, dove compario lo Senatore in miezzo à muti cittadini, e portaro allo capo soio na corona de Lauro, e se assetao alla sedia dello Arsettamento, e fù chiamato lo detto Misier Francesco Petrarca e se presentao isso vestuto e disse tre vote. *Viva lo popolo Romano. Viva lo Senatore, e Dio li mantenga in libertate*, e poi s'inginchiavo allo Senatore, lo quale disse, *Corona premia la virtù*. Se levao la ghirlando dello capo e la mise a Misier Francesco. Et isso disse uno bello Sonetto à favore delli antichi Romani valorosi. Chisto fu fornuto co muta laude dello Poeta, perchè tutto lo popolo gridava, *Viva lo Campidoglio e lo Poeta.*—*Ibid. Pieces Justificatives.*

No. XIV.—(p. 215.)

Letters Patent appointing Petrarch Domestic Chaplain to the Queen of Naples.

Joanna, &c. Tenore præsentium notum facimus earum seriem inspecturis, quod delectabiliter advertentes specialem promotionis affectum, quem claræ memoriæ inclitus Princeps Dominus Robertus Jerusalem et Siciliæ Rex, Illustris Reverendus Dominus Avus noster, gessit dum viveret, ad prudentem virum Magistrum Franciscum Petrarchum de Florentia, cum ipsius Domini Avi nostri expectata in opportunum

tempus ex devotionis licentia poëticæ scientiæ in urbe Romana, priscorum venerabili more temporum, Laurea insignitum et aliàs virtute discretiva vigentem, dignisque meritis præditum, quorum consideratione benignâ in domesticum Capellanum sive Clericum suum, suggerente et nihilominus proprio quodam instinctu uberioris caritatis, admisit. Et perindè hujusmodi Regiâ imitatione, avitam erga eum, conformiter nostræ sinceritatem, benevolentiam propagantes, ipsum similiter in Capellanum, seu Clericum nostrum domesticum, ac de nostro hospitio duximus de certâ scientiâ et speciali gratiâ retinendum, recepto prius ab eo solito in talibus juramento, volentes ut illis honoribus, favoribus, privilegiis, prærogativis et gratiis de cætero potiatur et gaudeat, quibus cæteri alii Capellani seu Clerici nostri domestici, ac de nostro hospitio potiuntur et gaudent, ac guadere et potiri soliti sunt et debent. In cujus rei testimonium præsentès litteras fieri, et pendente majestatis nostræ sigillo jussimus communicari. Datum Neapoli per Adinulfum Cumanum de Neapoli, &c. Anno Domini 1343, die 25 Novembris, 12 Ind. Regnorum nostrorum anno primo.

No. XV.—(p. 297.)

Principality of Orange.

Raimond, the prince of Orange here-mentioned, was the grandson of Beatrice, the sister of king Robert, who married Bertrand de Baux, prince of Orange. Raimond dying without male issue, the marriage of his eldest daughter Maria transferred the principality to the house of Chalons. In 1530, Philibert de Chalons, the great-great-grandson of Ma bequeathed it to René the son of his sister Claude, who had married Henry, count of Nassau. William the Third of England was the grandson of this René.

At the memorable siege of Rome in 1527, Philibert de

Chalons served with the Constable of Bourbon, who was killed by his side in escalading the walls, but he concealed his death, took the city, and with the rest of his ferocious associates pillaged and sacked it. The duke of Savoy seized the greater part of the booty which Philibert sent from Rome as his own share, but was obliged after his death to pay his mother the sum of twenty-two thousand crowns in compensation, which was thought to be very inadequate to the value of the plate and rich stuffs he had seized.

Three years after the siege of Rome, Philibert was killed in Italy by a musket ball. His life and death are thought to be a pretty exact counterpart of that of his associate and friend the Constable of Bourbon.

No. XVI—(p. 338.)

The Death of Laura.

Though Laura was no longer young, and though her charms were still more impaired by the effects of domestic chagrin than by time, she was at this period even more pertinaciously beloved by Petrarch than she had been in the bloom of youth.

Those who doubt of the reality of the attachment of the poet for his oft sung mistress, cannot easily set aside the evidence of the passage on her death, written in his own hand in the favourite copy of Virgil, which was the constant companion of his solitary hours.*

* This Virgil was illuminated by Simon Martini. The allegorical pictures with which he adorned it are ingeniously designed, but badly executed; the colouring is particularly brilliant, for, in the brightness and durability of their colours, the painters of that age excelled the moderns, however inferior in all other respects. In the Frontispiece to this Virgil, the great poet is seated in the act of writing, his face turned towards heaven, as if seeking the inspiration of the Muses—a warrior at his side, drawing his sword, represents the *Eneid*, a

“ Laura, illustrious by her own virtues, and celebrated by my verses, appeared for the first time to my eyes in the early part of my youth, in the year 1327, on the 6th of April, at the first hour of the day, in the church of St. Claire, at Avignon ; and in the same city, in the same month of April, on the same day, and at the same hour, in the year 1348, this light was taken out of the world, when I was at Verona, ignorant alas ! of my sad misfortune. The unhappy news was brought to me by my friend Louis. It found me at Parma the same year, on the 19th of May, in the morning.

“ Her body, so chaste and beautiful, was deposited in the church of the minor friars on the evening of the same day of her death. Her soul, I doubt not, has returned, as Seneca says of Scipio Africanus, to heaven whence it came.

“ To preserve the sad remembrance of this loss, I find a certain pleasure mingled with bitterness in writing this, and I write it preferably in this book which comes so often under my eyes, that there may no longer be any thing to please me in this life, and that my strongest tie being broken, I may be admonished by the frequent sight of these words, and by the just appreciation of a fugitive life, that it is time to come out of Babylon. Which, with the help of divine grace, will become easy to me, by the hourly and courageous contemplation of the superfluous cares, vain hopes, and unexpected events, which have agitated me during the time I have passed on earth.”

This passage is highly characteristic of Petrarch : Laura, celebrated by his verses, and Scipio Africanus, the hero of his Latin poem, were the constant subjects of his meditations ; the Virgil in which it was written was the solace of his lonely hours :—it speaks forcibly and mournfully to the truth of his attachment to Laura. We may

“ Bear about the mockery of woe,
To midnight dances and the public show.”

Shepherd, the *Bucolics*, and a Husbandman, the *Georgics*—Servius is drawing a curtain, almost transparent, to indicate that his gloss unveils all that is mysterious in the poet.—*Lanzi, Storia Pittorica.*

but not profane with fictitious sorrows those still retreats which would be solitude, but for the ubiquity of the Searcher of all hearts.

From the style of Petrarch's poems, it is evident that his attachment to Laura acquired both strength and tenderness during its progress. His early residence in Provence had familiarised him with the poetry and sentiments of the troubadours; and it was probably an imitation of their amatory effusions, always preferably addressed to some married woman or unattainable fair, that first prompted him to celebrate the charms of Laura. Flattered by the admiration his verses excited, the love of fame produced that constant meditation on one subject of thought, that converted what might have been but a passing fancy into a soul-engrossing and unhappy passion.

No. XVII.—(p. 343.)

Contract for the Sale of Avignon.

In nomine Domini, Amen. Universis præsentis literas, seu præsens instrumentum inspecturis, *Joanna*, Dei gratiâ, Jerusalem et Siciliæ Regina, Provinciæ et Forcalcaquerj Comitissa et Domina Civitatis Avenionensis, salutem, &c. Notum facimus quòd in præsentia notariorum publicorum et testium infrascriptorum, &c. gratis et sponte et non coacta, non seducta, &c. sed mcrâ, liberâ et spontaneâ animi voluntate, et ex certâ scientiâ nostrâ, et cum voluntate et consensu illustris viri Domini Ludovici de Tarento, Comitis Provinciæ, legitimi viri ac mariti nostri, ibidem ad hoc præsentis et ad infrascripta licentiam et auctoritatem si et quantum in hac parte indigemus nobis super sequentibus omnibus et singulis præstantis; *vendimus*, cedimus, concedimus ad perpetuum, pro nobis et hæredibus ac successoribus nostris quibuscunque Sanctissimo, Beatissimo Patri Domino nostro, Clementi, Dei vna Providentiâ Papæ VI, Sacrosanctæ Romanæ et Univer-

salitatis Ecclesiæ Summo Pontifici ac successoribus suis ac Sacræ Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Venerabili Viro Magistro Guillelmo de Malasuco, Clerico Cameræ ipsius Domini nostri Papæ, Procuratori in hac parte per eundem Dominum nostrum Papam tam pro se, quàm etiam nomine dictæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ ad hoc legitimè constituto ibidem præsentì et recipienti ac pro ipso Domino Papa ejusque successoribus et ecclesiæ memoratis, super singulis infrascriptis solemniter stipulante, ac in ipsos Dominum summum Pontificem et ejus successores et Ecclesiam prælibatam titulo puræ et perfectæ *venditionis* transferimus irrevocabiliter pleno jure ad habendum et tenendum perpetuò, ac pacificè possidendum per dictum Dominum nostrum Papam, et ejus successores, ac Romanam Ecclesiam et alias ad faciendum eorum omnimodam voluntatem. — Videlicet, civitatem nostram Avenionensem, cum suburbis et toto territorio, ac confinibus quæ proceduntur inter territoria et confines castrorum Pontis Sorgiæ, et de Vedena Castri novi, et de Causmontibus ex una parte et comitatum Venaiscini ex altera, et territorj castri Novarum, castri Rainardi, et castri de Barbentana, ex alia et territoria castrorum Rupis Mauræ Podj Alti, Rupis Fortis de Sardo et de termino et flumine Rhodani quantum ad nos spectat, secundum confrontationes et limitates civitatis ejusdem territorj ipsius ex reliqua. Et cum omnibus et singulis castris, burgis, locis adiacentis pertinentibus et singulis universis, hominibus, vassallis, emphiteutis, homagiis, feudis, retrofeudis, proprietatibus, ædificiis, fortalitiis, ingressibus et egressibus, ac omni dominio et eorum jurisdictione justa, alta, media, et bassa, et mero et mixto imperio, superioritate, &c. pro pretio; videlicet, *octaviginta millium florenorum auri de Florentia boni et legitimi ponderis; quæ quidem octaviginta millia florenorum auri, Nos dicta Regina venditrix reconoscimus publicè et in veritate legitimè confitemur habuisse et recepisse plenariè et integrè pro pretio antedicto à Domino Papa prædicto, per manus Reverendi Patris in Christo Domini Stephani, Dei gratia Episcopi Sancti Pontj Tomeriarum Camerj ejusdem Domini Nostri Papæ et Apostolicæ Sedis, in bona pe-*

cunia et electa numerata. Et de quo quidem pretio, præfatum Dominum Papam et ejus successores ac Ecclesiam Romanam; pro nobis et hæredibus et successoribus nostris solvimus et quittavimus omnino cum pacto valido et solemnī per nos super hoc interposito de ulterius ab eisdem Domino nostro Papa ejus successoribus et Ecclesia Romana, causa vel ratione hujusmodi aliquid non petendo, &c. Nos dicta Regina recognoscimus in evidentem utilitatem nostram et pro necessariis et utilibus negotiis nostris fuisse conversa; et ex nunc quidquid dicta civitas Avenionensis, cum ejus territorio pertinenti, districtu ac juribus supradictis valet, seu in futurum valebit pretio antedicto, considerantes quod secundum Apostolum verba Domini Jesu memorantem, *Beatius est dare quam accipere*, &c. Mandantes nihilominus per præsentēs hominibus vassalis emphiteutis et subditis universis et singulis civitatis prædictæ, &c. ut a modo eidem Domino nostro Papæ, ejusque successoribus ac Ecclesiæ Romanæ respondeant, pareant, obediant efficaciter tanquam vero Domino Civitatis ejusdem et territorj, &c. Jurantes nihilominus Nos dicta Regina, tactis Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis manu nostra, contra presentem venditionem, donationem et contractum, ratione minoris ætatis, vel aliàs nullatenus in posterum non venire, nec aliquid per nos, vel alium, seu alios facere, vel procurare clam vel palam directè vel indirectè, propter quod venditio, donatio, translatio, cessio, quitatio hujusmodi possit aliquāliter in totum vel in parte infirmari vel etiam irritari, &c.

Cæterum Nos Ludovicus de Tarento, supranominatus Comes Provinciæ, & Maritus legitimus præfatæ Joannæ, Reginæ, Comitissæque, &c. ad instantiam et requestam præfatæ Reginæ Comitissæque consortis nostræ, quantum in nobis est et ad nos pertinet melioribus modo, jure et forma quibus possumus eadem omnia universa et singula et ex certa scientia nostra laudamus, approbamus, homologamus, auctorisamus et ratificamus expressè pro nobis ac hæredibus et successoribus nostris quibuscunque ac ea valere volumus et tenere et habere perpetui roboris et firmitatis, &c. Acta verò sunt hæc Avenione in domo habitationis nostræ die decima nona

mensis Junj, anno à Nativitate Domini millesimo trecentesimo quadragésimo octavo. Indict. I, Pontificatus Domini Nostri Clementis Papæ VI, An. septimo, &c.

En consequence de cette vente, Charles IV, Empereur, remit et ceda au même Pape Clement VI, tous les droits qu'il pouvoit pretendre sur cette même ville d'Avignon, par une bulle d'or donnée à Gorliet aux Calendes de Novembre, 1348.—*Bouche, Hist. Provence.*

Muratori values the gold florin of this period at the fifth of an ounce of gold. The value of an ounce of gold is now something less than four pounds, consequently, Avignon was sold for about sixty thousand pounds of our money.

The article on the Assassination of Andrew, which should have been referred to at page 252 of this volume, will be found at the end of the Appendix to the Second Volume.]

END OF VOL. I.

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